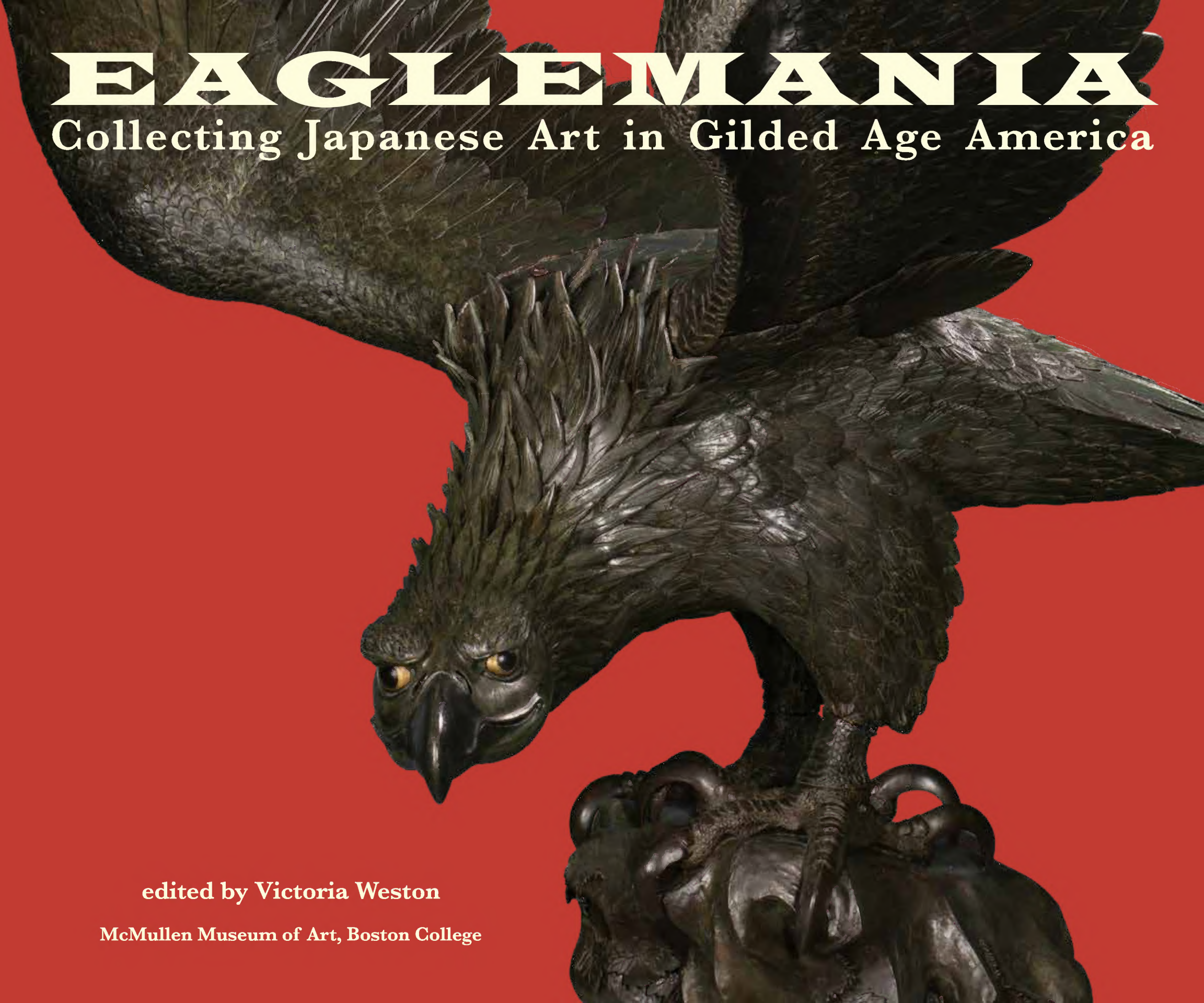


EAGLEMANIA

Collecting Japanese Art in Gilded Age America

edited by Victoria Weston

McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College





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This publication is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Eaglemania: Collecting Japanese Art in Gilded Age America* in the Daley Family Gallery at the McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, February 11–June 2, 2019. Organized by the McMullen Museum, *Eaglemania* has been curated by Victoria Weston and Diana Larsen and underwritten by Boston College with major support from the Patrons of the McMullen Museum and Peter and Leslie Ciampi.

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Front and back: Attrib. Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919), *Eagle*, c. 1890s, bronze, gold, *shakudō*, 73 x 68 x 59 in., McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2018.78 (plates 85a–b).
Endpapers: rear detail of *Estate Birds*, c. 1780, paper, wood, paint, ink, gold leaf, 68 x 153 x 0.8 in., private collection (plate 36).

All figure and plate photographs appear courtesy of those listed in their captions, with these additional acknowledgments: Laura Shea (Mount Holyoke College Art Museum): plate 12; Christopher Soldt (Boston College): plates 1–4, 8–9, 13–14, 18–36, 47, 52, 68–83, 85a–b, 86.

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Preface

THIS PUBLICATION AND EXHIBITION CELEBRATE THE CONSERVATION and recently discovered artistic significance of a monumental bronze masterpiece from Japan's Meiji period (1868–1912). For decades, a “golden eagle,” the icon of Boston College, perched on a granite column in front of the University's central building, Gasson Hall. The raptor stood watch over the campus while the sculpture's history remained unstudied and its condition deteriorated. Seemingly beyond repair in 1993, the eagle was dismantled and replaced by a cast produced at Skylight Studios in Woburn, Massachusetts. The original languished in pieces at Skylight until 2015 when Rus Gant, a faculty member at Showa Boston, a Japanese language and culture institute, alerted Boston College to its possible importance.

Heeding the information, the University's president, William P. Leahy, SJ, in consultation with the Museum's assistant director, Diana Larsen, Victoria Weston, a professor of Japanese art at the University of Massachusetts Boston, conservator Mimi Leveque of Archaea Technica, and Ben Birnbaum, then executive director of the Office of University Communications, determined the original bronze deserving of conservation. Two years of painstaking treatment and reconstruction by Rika Smith McNally & Associates in Natick, Massachusetts and Robert Shure and George Stratakis at Skylight Studios ensued. As the exceptional quality of the sculpture became increasingly clear during cleaning, the McMullen decided to organize an exhibition, which, with Larsen and Weston serving as co-curators, would explore the eagle's conservation, its storied past, and the context in which it was made in Japan and brought to the United States by collectors Larz and Isabel Anderson. Shortly thereafter, research pointed to the eagle's probable attribution to the circle of master artist Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919), whose works dominated Japan's entries in international expositions at the turn of the twentieth century (plates 85a–b).

Victoria Weston and Diana Larsen undertook the complex task of conceiving the multiple strands of *Eaglemania's* narrative and of identifying and securing nearly one hundred related objects for loan. It is their dedication, knowledge, research, and educated eyes that have guided this endeavor. Thus, it is to them that the Museum owes its deepest appreciation. The Museum extends additional gratitude to Weston for editing and contributing to this catalogue and to Rory Browne, Joe Earle, Regina Gaudette, Yuiko Hotta, Hae Yeun Kim, Diana Larsen, Tomoko Nagakura, Robert Shure, Rika Smith, George Stratakis, and Karen Wolff for their essays in it. The Museum also recognizes Ben Birnbaum, Rus Gant, Gerry Hayes, Mimi Leveque, Seth Meehan, Charles Murphy, Midori Oka, and Betty Anderson Riley, for their wise counsel, and assistance in research and editing.

Of course the exhibition would not have been possible without the generosity of its lenders. For assistance in identifying and obtaining loans we thank: colleagues from a private collection; Sheldon Steele and Anne Marie Goguen (Larz Anderson Auto Museum, Brookline); Lucy Billingsley and Don Hodges (Billingsley Company, Dallas); Christian Dupont, Shelley Barber, and Katherine Fox (John J. Burns Library, Boston College); Stanley and Elizabeth Burns (Burns Archive, New York); David E. Little, Stephen Fisher, and Miloslava Hrubá (Mead Art Museum, Amherst College); Max Hollein, Monika Bincsik, John Carpenter, Catherine Chesney, Alison Clark, Emily Foss, Quincy Houghton, Donald La Rocca, and Pierre Terjanian (the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Tricia Y. Paik, Hannah Blunt, and Linda Delone Best (Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley); Matthew Teitelbaum, Yuiko Hotta, Janet Moore, and Anne Nishimura Morse (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); Jessica Nicoll, Deborah Diemente, and Henriette Kets de Vries (Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton); and Emily Schulz Parsons, Katherine M. Hill, Michele Lee Silverman, and Ellen McCallister Clark (the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC).

The multifaceted project has been managed adroitly and propelled to completion by the McMullen staff and others at the University. In addition to serving as co-curator, Diana Larsen oversaw conservation and transportation of the Boston College eagle and photography for the catalogue. Her design in the Daley Family Gallery approximates the various contexts in which the eagle would have been shown both in the United States and Japan. She was aided in the installation by John Page and his Special Projects Group; Joseph Figueiredo and the Carpentry Shop, and Anthony Raymond Sr., as well as by Brendan McGuirl at Ursa Concept. Assistant Director John McCoy designed this publication and the exhibition's graphics using nineteenth-century typography to evoke the Gilded Age. Manager of Publications and Exhibitions Kate Shugert copyedited this volume and oversaw the loan process with great efficiency. Manager of Education, Outreach, and Digital Resources Rachel Chamberlain arranged programs for audiences of all ages to engage with the exhibition and learn about Japan at the turn of the last century. Christopher Soldt of Media Technology Services photographed many of the objects in the catalogue. The Museum also appreciates the assistance of Jack Dunn, Keith Ake, Gary Wayne Gilbert, Ravi Jain, and Rosanne Pellegrini of the Office of University Communications; Anastos Chiavaras and Rose Breen of the Office of Risk Management; Peter Marino, Jacqueline Delgado, and Gaurie Pandey of the Center for Centers; Ginger Saariaho, Natalie Hachem, and Sarah Murray of the Office of Advancement; and Mary Crane, director of

the Institute for the Liberal Arts.

We remain grateful for the following Museum endowments that provide vital support for all our projects: Linda '64 and Adam Crescenzi Fund, Janet M. and C. Michael Daley '58 Fund, Gerard and Jane Gaughan Fund for Exhibitions, Hecksher Family Fund, Hightower Family Fund, John F. McCarthy and Gail M. Bayer Fund, Christopher J. Toomey '78 Fund, and Alison S. and William M. Vareika '74, P'09, '15 Fund.

As always, the McMullen Museum could never have undertaken this ambitious project without the ongoing support of the administration of Boston College and the McMullen Family Foundation. We especially thank Jacqueline McMullen, President William P. Leahy, SJ; Provost David Quigley; Vice Provost Billy Soo; and Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Dean Gregory Kalscheur, SJ. Major support for the exhibition was provided by the Patrons of the McMullen Museum, chaired by C. Michael Daley, and Peter and Leslie Ciampi. To all mentioned above, we extend heartfelt thanks for helping our University's treasured bronze eagle soar to new heights.

Nancy Netzer

Preface Director and Professor of Art History

Introduction

Victoria Weston

EAGLEMANIA: COLLECTING JAPANESE ART IN GILDED AGE AMERICA celebrates and studies Boston College's iconic "golden eagle" (plates 85a–b). This is a huge bronze sculpture; were the figure to extend its wings, the span would be roughly nine feet. The eagle presides over the campus from atop its thirty-four-foot granite column in front of Gasson Hall. Less known is the fact that the eagle is Japanese, a work of the late nineteenth century. Brought to the United States by Larz and Isabel Anderson in 1897, it spent the first half of the twentieth century in Brookline, Massachusetts as the centerpiece of the Andersons' Japanese garden. In 1954, it arrived at Boston College to take up new duties as mascot. The eagle was soon fully gilded, and with that act, it effectively changed its nationality from Japanese to American by becoming a bald eagle dressed to symbolize college and country.

Over nine decades of exposure to the elements took its toll on the eagle. Surface damage and deep fissures necessitated its retirement, and what took its place was a replacement made from casts. The original went into long-term storage until a new assessment deemed the work capable and worthy of conservation. In July 2017, Rika Smith McNally & Associates began treatment of the sculpture, including its internal reconstruction and repatination. That process is documented in "Conserving a Meiji-Era Monumental Bronze Eagle" in this volume. While the replica remains outdoors, the original inspires the present exhibition. Now gloriously conserved, it will remain on view at the McMullen Museum.

The Boston College eagle required a great deal of study in order for conservation to come as close as possible to its nineteenth-century appearance. As a piece of art and social history, the eagle inspired a host of questions that ultimately resulted in this project. Provenance begins many an art historical inquiry, and such questions here led back to the eagle's first owners, the Andersons, and how they came to acquire such a thing. Boston is justly famed in history as a hub of pioneering study of Japan once it opened to the West for trade and diplomatic relations in the mid-nineteenth century. Boston museums are rich in holdings of Japanese art collected in the spring of this relationship, when American dollars went far in acquiring works of national-treasure caliber. Boston, Cambridge, and their environs included some of America's first experts on Japan, people who had spent time there teaching Western science, technology, and humanities as that country embarked on strategic modernization. Thanks to the Boston College eagle, we now know that we should count Larz Anderson (1866–1937) and his wife, Isabel (1876–1948), among the "Japan-hand" Brahmins of Boston.

Larz Anderson was unusual even for Boston. He sojourned in Japan not once but four times, three of these at life milestones. Anderson transitioned to adulthood following gradu-

ation from Harvard College in 1888 with a world tour that began in Japan. His intoxication with the place was such that when plans for the next phase of his travels collapsed, he was delighted to stay on in Tokyo. With family aid, Anderson embarked on an intermittent career in diplomatic service, his first postings in Europe. He was in Italy in 1896 when he met and fell in love with Isabel Weld Perkins, an enormously wealthy, attractive, nineteen-year-old Boston heiress. He quit his position and returned stateside to marry. Their wedding in 1897 was one of the era's great society events.

Larz Anderson surely led the decision to honeymoon in Japan. Isabel knew only the United States and the most cultured of Western European cities. The two were a devoted couple, and no doubt Larz's enthusiasm for Japan would have been sufficient to convince Isabel. Japan was also a cultural phenomenon in the American Northeast. Boston's intellectual culture in the mid- to late nineteenth century was adventuresome and by the time of the Andersons' wedding, interest in Asian religions, philosophy, ethics, and aesthetics were at their peak. Japan's participation in the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Fair was a sensation, bringing the wonder of its artistic and craft excellence to American attention. Elites engaged dealers, including Japanese firms with outposts in New York and Boston, to acquire fine objects; common folk turned to department stores. Japan was in the air when Isabel entertained the idea of honeymooning in Japan. As discussed in my "Wonderland of the World": The Andersons and Japan," the country fulfilled expectations, the Andersons being particularly drawn to its landscape, both scenic and cultivated. And, as new householders, the couple embraced the potential Japan held for domestic decoration. Perhaps cherished most by the Anderson family was a pair of Japanese crystal balls on carved ivory stands (plate 59); Tomoko Nagakura explains why in her "The Stuff of Dragon's Breath: Collecting Japanese Crystal Balls in Victorian Boston" in this volume. The Andersons employed their great bronze eagle as anchor for their Japanese garden at their Brookline estate, Weld, in homage to Japan and its natural beauty.

Larz Anderson returned to public life in the 1910s, the way paved in part by a third trip to Asia as an informal member of a delegation sent to assess the Philippines. The group stopped in Tokyo, where the Andersons rekindled old relationships and added to their collection of Japanese art. Upon returning to the United States, Larz posted out to Belgium, Isabel at his side. The Andersons enjoyed old world royalty and protocols, Larz going so far as to commission a diplomatic uniform with gold braid, though the United States dressed its emissaries in no such thing (fig. 1). The Andersons were intimates of President Taft and his family, and in a series of diplomatic reshufflings akin to moving pieces around a game board, Larz achieved the pinnacle of his career, full ambassadorship to Japan. The Andersons were there only



1. Larz Anderson wearing his custom diplomatic uniform at the Palais d'Assche, Brussels, 1912. Collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

to the city of Brookline. Today's Larz Anderson Auto Museum, a lender to the exhibition, occupies the old Carriage House, the mansion itself long gone and the estate's acreage given over to sports and parks. As explained in Diana Larsen's "Proud Bird of Majesty": The Story of the Boston College Eagle," Gus Anderson shepherded the great bronze eagle into its next life phase, as an emblem of Boston College.

It is not intuitively obvious that Japanese art should have produced such a large bronze eagle. Eagles have very little foothold in the history of traditional Japanese subject matter in any of its visual or literary arts. The work's authorship is unknown: the base of the eagle was cut down in the 1950s to accommodate its circular BC pedestal and any artists' marks are presumed to have been lost then. One name looms large as possible author: Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919). This metals artist famously exhibited hawks and eagles in international arts competitions, and the quality of his work was uniformly superb. The task of this exhibition and catalogue was to situate the Boston College eagle in Japanese art history to understand how such a work came to be made.

Foremost in the eagle's examination was this question of artist. Early on in the history of later nineteenth-century expositions, Japan showed itself a leader, with mastery in a range of colored alloys and techniques. Japanese metals were widely lauded, inspiring Western manufacturers such as Rhode Island's Gorham Manufacturing to develop its own alloys and inlay techniques and to collect sample images of Japanese art.¹ While antique examples of Japanese metal arts certainly inspired Western collectors, it was these newer products, made with the Western art market in mind, that garnered the greatest plaudits. Suzuki Chōkichi was perhaps Japan's best known metals artist, both for the ambition of his work, surpassing all expectations in fine detail and scale, and for his position in the semi-governmental firm, the Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha or the Pioneering Craft and Commerce Company, in Joe Earle's translation. Earle explores how the Boston College eagle might fit into Suzuki's oeuvre in his "Suzuki Chōkichi: Master of Metal Raptors," while at the same time taking the study of this seminal artist's work

in new directions.

The eagle subject in Japan is inextricably intertwined with depictions of hawks. There is a range of complicating factors that several of this catalogue's authors explore. Between the raptors native to Japan and raptors introduced to Japan through continental art and trade, the number of birds possible in any one painting, print, or object is significant. The difficulties are compounded by an absence of firm naming conventions in Japanese and in English. Hawking—and here I am purposefully avoiding the term "falconry" for the sake of precision—was a sport in Japan going back to the reign of fourth-century Emperor Nintoku, who flew his first hawks thanks to a Korean austringer. But, hawk painting was established in Japan later, from perhaps the sixteenth century, thanks to imports of Chinese works and the popularity of hawking and hawk collecting among samurai. The Chinese subject category *ying* 鷹, which modeled raptor painting in Japan, embraced raptors of many types—eagles, hawks, and falcons, as well as other hunting birds. As discussed in my "The Sorting Hat: Identity and Meaning in Japanese Depictions of Raptors," Chinese imagery mingling with Japanese reality yielded a confusing range of possible identities when viewing any painting of a raptor prior to the mid-nineteenth century. Later trends toward naturalism helped the identification problem, but then new meanings accrued thanks to Japan's newly international political context.

Several essays take a close lens to specific problems of identification and interpretation. Rory Browne assembles the likely suspects in Japan by cataloguing endemic raptors and seasonal visitors. As his "Raptors and Realism: The Real Birds of Japanese Art" cautions, these earlier and often Edo-period (1615–1868) depictions are not naturalists' studies but works balancing nature and style in accordance with social use. Yuiko Hotta examines one specific topic in her "Predator or Protector?: The Meanings of the Eagle-and-Monkey Theme in Japan," a pairing that appears with some frequency in Edo-period prints and netsuke. Although grounded in commoner culture, the pairing also likely has religious connotations. Hae Yeun Kim points to Japan's connections to both Korean hawks and Korean hawk painting as sources of inspiration in her "Hawk Diplomacy between Japan and Korea."

As the *Eaglemania* project shows, a single artwork can yield a host of questions. Thanks to the many lenders to the exhibition and the scholars contributing to this volume, we have perhaps answered a few of them.

I would like to join Nancy Netzer in expressing my sincere gratitude to all those who helped make this book and exhibition possible. Three, though, have been particularly important to me: my co-curator, Diana Larsen, my editor and comrade in words, Kate Shugert, and Midori Oka, my advisor, aid, peer reviewer, and friend.

- 1 William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America*, exh. cat. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990), 127–29.

“Wonderland of the World”: The Andersons and Japan

Victoria Weston

BEFORE THE BOSTON COLLEGE EAGLE SAT ATOP A PILLAR at the University, it was a garden ornament in Brookline, Massachusetts (fig. 1, plates 85a–b). Larz Kilgour Anderson (1866–1937) and Isabel Weld Perkins Anderson (1876–1948, fig. 2) owned the estate of Weld in Brookline, as well as a palatial mansion in Washington, DC. The Boston College eagle was one of ten major purchases the Andersons made on their honeymoon in Japan in 1897. The couple shipped thirty-one cases of Japanese objects, and these were used to decorate both homes. The Andersons’ purchases reflect the prevailing tastes of American Gilded Age collectors. They also included more adventuresome choices manifesting personal interests and constructions of meaning. Japan was a touchstone in the Andersons’ lives, their collective four visits there blending personal affinities for the place with Larz’s diplomatic career. The “Wonderland of the World,” as Larz effused after his first visit to Japan, was also the pinnacle of his diplomatic career, where he served as US ambassador.

The Andersons were among America’s most prosperous couples at the turn of the century. Larz was born in Paris, though his youth was mostly spent in Cincinnati, where his family were town fathers.¹ Isabel was a child of wealthy New Englanders. She became extremely so herself as an heir to the fortune left to her by her Weld grandfather. Larz pursued an intermittent career in diplomacy, beginning in 1891 in the American legation in London. He moved to Italy in 1894 with promotion to first secretary, and that is where he met Isabel. Larz resigned this post in 1897 to be able to return stateside and marry Isabel. Throughout their marriage, the couple traveled extensively, as charmingly illustrated by a globe they had etched with their journeys (plate 50).

Japan figured into the Andersons’ lives at both a personal and professional level. Larz Anderson traveled the world after graduating Harvard in 1888, as many young men of his social class did, and that journey began in Japan. Japan had been open to foreign visitors for roughly three decades. While Americans did travel there, it was still a rare destination and redolent of exotic adventure. Elites of the American Northeast were particularly drawn to Japan due to the region’s long history in the China trade and Asian commerce. Anderson spent four months in Japan, waxing lyrical on its beauty and its unfamiliar culture in his letters.²

Isabel Anderson joined her husband on his following three trips to Japan, beginning with their honeymoon in 1897. The couple returned to Japan in 1910 in the company of the American Secretary of War Jacob Dickinson (1851–1928), who was assessing conditions in the Philippines for President William Howard Taft (1857–1930). The Taft and



1. Japanese garden at Weld, 1910. Photograph album of Larz and Isabel Anderson, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

Anderson families were long connected by marriage and friendship. Taft made Anderson minister to Belgium in 1911 and then promoted him to full ambassador to Japan in 1912. President Taft had lost the election, and Anderson tendered his resignation with the change in administration, having served only three months in Japan. The Andersons traveled in Westernized comfort, and Japan fulfilled their idealized expectations of the country and its culture as popularly understood by Americans. The Japanese they encountered were unfailingly polite and cultured, famous sites and landscape vistas moved them in their



2. Isabel and Larz Anderson on the terrace of Anderson House, 1905. Photo: Henry Withey (a draftsman at the firm that designed the home), collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

course by rail across America to the West Coast, first embarking for Japan and then the rest of the world.⁴ The Gardners had been inspired by a lecture given by Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925), a Bostonian who built a career out of his experiences in Japan. Boston was in the throes of what Morse dubbed “the Japan Craze,” when popular interest in its culture and arts was high.⁵ Morse was part of a network of Boston Japanophiles that included Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow (1850–1926), a Museum of Fine Arts trustee and avid collector of Japanese art, and Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), collector, museum curator, lecturer, and writer. When Larz Anderson elected to start traveling, he began, like the Gardners, with Japan.

Anderson was a dedicated letter writer, who wrote long missives home that were then typed and collected in journals. Some of these letters were selected by Isabel Anderson and published in *Larz Anderson: Letters and Journals of a Diplomat*, and previously used by her as source material for her book *The Spell of Japan*.⁶ Anderson was also an able draftsman who for decades made humorous sketches of his adventures.⁷ Anderson’s first trip to Japan is well represented in his letters and drawings. The inception of this trip is reflected in figure 3, where Larz draws himself and his friend Malcolm Thomas agreeing to travel the world. The two men shake hands on the deal, suitcases in hand while a beaming sun and the globe occupy the top of the drawing. They traveled by rail to San Francisco, and then by steamship from California, bound for Asia as Larz’s globe indicates.

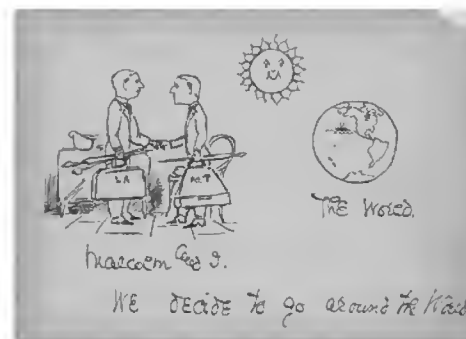
The travelers spent four months in Japan, aided by John Gardner Coolidge (1863–1936), a nephew of Isabella Stewart Gardner, who was then residing in Tokyo.⁸ One of Larz’s letters home refers to him as “Johnny,” suggesting that he was an old friend upon whom they could impose. Apparently, Larz and Malcolm had intended to visit Beijing

magnificence, and its art realized every expectation for exceptional craft, superior material, and beauty.

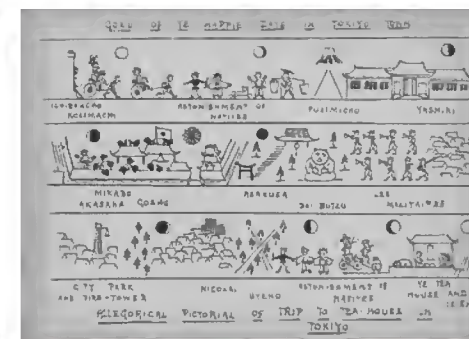
In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these multiple sojourns qualified the Andersons as experts on Japan. Like an old “Japan hand,” Isabel wrote a survey of Japan for travelers, *The Spell of Japan* (plate 55), in 1914, in addition to writing Japanese stories in children’s fiction and drama.³ Their residences reflected their regard for that country in the many Japanese objects they used in designing and decorating. The Boston College eagle, one of their most dynamic Japanese possessions, embodied the magic of Japan and the success Larz achieved in his diplomatic career.

THE GRAND TOUR BEGINS IN JAPAN

When Larz Anderson graduated from Harvard College in 1888, he had no immediate obligations and so took a course common to the wealthy: world travel. Where once Americans almost exclusively flocked to Europe, by the 1880s some Bostonians chose instead a world tour or travel in Asia. John L. and Isabella Stewart Gardner were such travelers in 1883, when they traced a



3. Larz Anderson, “We Decide to Go around the World!,” c. 1888–89. From *Larz Anderson U.S.A.*, vol. 2, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.



4. Larz Anderson, “Allegorical Pictorial of Trip to Tea-House in Tokiyo,” c. 1888–89. From *Larz Anderson U.S.A.*, vol. 2, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

[Peking], but those plans had to be given up. The young men resolved to remain in Japan, Larz’s preamble beginning, “Whereas we were having about as a good a time as is vouchsafed to mortals.”⁹ It was Coolidge who facilitated their adjustment of plan, because the travelers moved in with him, taking over part of the rent payment and household expenses. Coolidge resided in one of Tokyo’s centrally located and affluent districts, Kōjimachi.

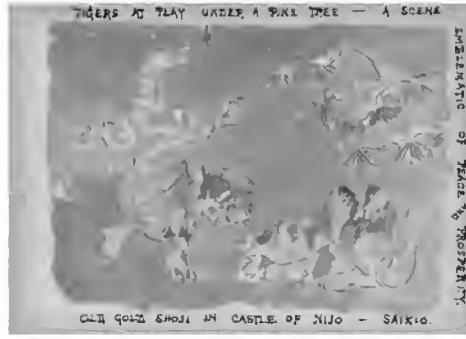
Coolidge had influential connections among elite Japanese, and his time in Japan ahead of Anderson and Thomas made him the expert. Coolidge lived “à la Japanese,” as Anderson described it, so the new arrivals quickly got a taste of indigenous life. Coolidge’s home was Japanese, furnished Japanese, and he wore Japanese clothes.¹⁰ His neighbors were two Bostonians, William Sturgis Bigelow and Ernest Fenollosa, the latter residing in Tokyo with his family. A dinner at the Fenollosas’ was, for Anderson, “a touch of home which was most pleasant.”¹¹ Coolidge and his Japanese friends entertained Anderson and Thomas well (“we are kept going all the time”), including a guided tour of the famed Kōrakuen Garden in Tokyo from a Japanese count, visits to famous sites including Hakone, Kyoto, and Nara, and an impressive menu of Tokyo entertainments: kabuki, Nō, and monkey theater; a tea ceremony at a private club; a ball at the famous Rokumeikan (the premier venue for Western-style socializing in Tokyo); and festivals of various sorts.

One of Larz’s sketches provides a comic impression of a day in Tokyo, beginning with departure from Coolidge’s Kōjimachi-district home (fig. 4). The narrative, arranged in horizontal registers like a handscroll, records viewing Mount Fuji (Fujimichō), a “yashiki” or estate of a Japanese noble, the Akasaka-district imperial palace of the emperor (“the mikado”), a Shintō shrine (marked by a torii gate) and large seated Buddha (“dai butzu,” amusingly shown giving a thumbs up), army military drills (likely in Hibiya district), one of Tokyo’s many fire towers, the Nikolai Cathedral, Ueno Park, and arrival at a tea house. Pictures of embarkation and arrival via rickshaw are both punctuated by “astonishment of the natives,” the second adding great plumes of satisfied tobacco smoke.

John Coolidge was not a great fan of Japan (“I like the country on the whole but fail to see grounds for the wild enthusiasm which seems to possess many of those who have traveled in it”¹²), but Larz Anderson was. He found Japan’s old Buddhist temples “impressive,” the Japanese “charming” and “the politest people on earth,” the tea house he visited “simply perfect” in its joinery construction, Miya-no-shita (a mountain resort) “at the head of one of the most beautiful gorges I have ever seen,” miniaturized bonsai trees “flawless... diminutive but perfect,” and so on. Anderson warmly concluded his missives from Japan thus: “Good-by, Japan, Wonderland of the World, good-by! Four perfect months have I passed...every hour has been full of new surprises, of new delights.”¹³



5. Larz Anderson, "The Rainy Season in Japan," c. 1897. From *Larz Anderson U.S.A.*, vol. 2, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.



6. Larz Anderson, "Tigers at Play under a Pine Tree: A Scene Emblematic of Peace and Prosperity," c. 1897. From *Larz Anderson U.S.A.*, vol. 2, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.



7. Larz Anderson, "Chrysanthemums as They Are: The Kiku Season," c. 1888–89. From *Larz Anderson U.S.A.*, vol. 2, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

HONEYMOON IN WONDERLAND

Anderson's paean to Japan was heartfelt, evidenced in his choice of it as their honeymoon destination when he married Isabel Weld Perkins in 1897. Anderson had made a Japanese friend, Osame Kamori (dates unknown), during his first trip; Osame made travel arrangements for the newlyweds in Japan and acted as their guide and interpreter. The Andersons arrived in Yokohama on August 14 and progressed through Japan's major tourist sites.¹⁴ Their itinerary first took them to Tokyo and points north (Nikkō, Matsushima), then by sea southward to the Kyoto area, Miyajima, and Kyushu. They took a week's side trip to China, then returned to Japan, their travels ending in Tokyo in November.¹⁵ Had they been able to find a house in Tokyo suited to their taste, Anderson wrote, they would have stayed longer.¹⁶ Such a goal was adventuresome in 1897, for only 653 foreigners resided there, 224 of them American.¹⁷

In arriving in mid-August, the Andersons encountered Japan's most severe summer heat. The standard remedy for Americans was to journey north to the mountains and particularly to Nikkō, where the wonders of the mortuary shrines of the first and third Tokugawa shoguns waited. But, they also made the farther day trip to Lake Chūzenji, known for its natural beauty; the Andersons would be consistently drawn to Japan's natural and cultivated beauty. Larz wrote about Nikkō on September 2 because it was raining that day, which was typical for the area at that time of year. Separately, Larz encapsulated the rainy season in a drawing by complementing a Japanese paper umbrella with a Western canvas one, connecting the two with a line of rain (fig. 5).

In Kyoto, the Andersons visited famous architectural sites including the Golden Pavilion, the Silver Pavilion, and Nijō Castle. Nijō inspired in Larz a humorous image, embellished with colors: he turned the castle's Tōzamurai Reception Hall's imposing murals of tigers into wrestling house cats (fig. 6). Larz wrote most extensively, however, on gardens, as in this impression in Kyoto: "Strange pleasant little houses in ravines among the hills overlooking the plain, with the most interesting and perfectly entrancing Japanese gardens, with their little ponds (with huge goldfish!) and cascades (one of them called 'Wash the Moon Cascade') and tiny bridges and imitation mountains, on which grow diminutive maple trees."¹⁸ Wonderment of miniaturization, whether in gardens or decoration of fine art objects, was a typical Western response to Japan. The couple's appreciation of Japanese gardens later found expression in their creating a Japanese garden at their Weld estate in Brookline.

In November, the Andersons returned to Tokyo. November is chrysanthemum season, one of the flowers celebrated in Japan and from which the imperial family takes its crest (*mon*). On November 18, the Andersons visited the Dangozaka district of Tokyo, where they marveled at an exhibition of the flowers. In addition to individual displays

of plants and flowers, chrysanthemum blossoms were also used to depict figures and tableaux, not unlike today's Parade of Roses at Pasadena's Rose Bowl: "Wonderful it was, with its grotesque figures made of flowers (one stage is a scene of Commodore Perry being received by the Shogun), on revolving stages, with rocks and mountains, horses and figures, in all sorts of attitudes, of brilliant flowers; all curious and interesting."¹⁹ This was actually Larz's second time visiting the chrysanthemum festival, which he had visited in 1888. At that exhibition, a "star" flower construction was a thirty-six-foot-high ensemble of

an elephant and rider, which Larz sketched (fig. 7; *kiku* is Japanese for "chrysanthemum").²⁰

The Andersons' second stop that day was not typical for tourists but attested to their special access. Larz wrote of visiting "the fine art schools and saw the students painting and carving, in their painstaking, peculiar ways."²¹ Larz had met Ernest Fenollosa, the American who had helped establish the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō), on his first visit to Japan. Opened in 1889, the school was led by Okakura Kakuzō (1863–1913), whose fluent English paved the way for Americans to visit the school's teaching studios. Painting and carving were the cornerstones of the curriculum, carving in relief being the foundation of its introduction to sculpture. The Andersons' timing was rather extraordinary, for it was in November of 1897 that the school erupted in a great factional dispute that resulted in Okakura's ouster and the mass resignation of much of the school's faculty.²² Okakura ultimately made a career in Boston, where he became curator of Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts.

SHOPPING FOR CURIOS

Both marriage and travel to an exotic destination demanded that the newlyweds acquire souvenirs. Larz and Isabel had not yet purchased a permanent home, but they were ready to acquire decorative Japanese objects, which Americans generally dubbed "curios." Larz's letters home initially complained of nothing to buy, but this changed in Kyoto. He wrote on September 14, "We have been visiting shops and seeing many things. But there are very few good things and these are absurdly expensive, yet we have at last bought a few."²³ The Andersons were not prejudiced against contemporary art objects; Larz noted: "The Japanese today, given the time and money, do a fine, indeed finer work, than they ever did, in carving and lacquer and cloisonné."²⁴ Kobe, too, offered the Andersons fruitful shopping ("we had a good deal of fun and saw lots of pretty things finally"²⁵), as did Tokyo in their last days in Japan.

Larz Anderson's letters give the impression that while he and his bride enjoyed shopping in Japan, their motivating interest was landscape and scenery. Their shipping inventory, however, shows the extent of their purchases. The Andersons sent an impressive thirty-one cases of "curios" home from Yokohama using the firm Walsh, Hall and Company.²⁶ Home was Washington, DC, where they resided in a house owned by Larz's mother. Construction of their own mansion had to wait until Isabel came into full possession of her enormous inheritance.

The purchases on the shipping receipt run the gamut of small to large and cheap to expensive: from one-inch netsuke figures to the life-size bronze eagle now at Boston College, and ten *sen* for a print to 2,000 yen for a two-piece lacquer set.²⁷ In between were figures in bronze, wood, ceramic, ivory, and tortoise shell; vessels in cloisonné and

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an air of exoticism and enhancing the owners' stature as cultivated world travelers.

The packing receipt lists the Andersons'

Tracking any of the objects listed in the

on was finished in 1905. Completion of this

Lacquer boxes are prominent in the Andersons' honeymoon packing inventory for their quantity and expense. Three different sets of lacquered boxes were among the nine items costing the Andersons 1,000 yen or more (1,250, 1,335, and 2,000 yen). This is not surprising, given the value Victorian Americans placed on Japanese lacquer. It had been prized by Western collectors since the seventeenth century, when Holland was the only Western

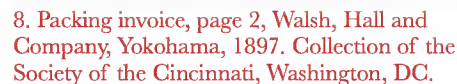
Several sets of the Andersons' lacquers stayed in Washington where they were promi-

The paired lacquer boxes feature themes consistent with the period the Andersons hon-

Inside the boxes a separate but related theme plays out in the decoration. Heian-period

Victorian Americans prized Japanese silks in many forms, and roughly one-fifth of the

Victorian Americans prized Japanese silks in many forms, and roughly one-fifth of the Andersons' purchases was textiles. A large temple embroidery, bought for 1,000 yen, was among the Andersons' selections. Silk brocades and embroideries contributed to the layers of ornament in Victorian interiors, the larger pieces serving as wall hangings, draperies, and swags across doorways, the smaller ones displayed on tables and furniture. Articles of clothing, especially kimono, served as costumes for fancy-dress events, the brocades of actors and Buddhist formal wear being especially elaborate. All of these categories figure into the inventory. Due to the fragile nature of the silks, especially when put to daily use with limited understanding of their proper care, little of this material survives. Four





9. Great Hall, Anderson House, 1933. Photo: Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress, Washington, DC, <https://www.loc.gov/item/dc0009/>.

individual pieces are extant at Anderson House, of which only one, a Buddhist mantle (*kesa*), is in stable condition (plate 62).

Related to the textile purchases were two pairs of painted silk screens. One pair cost 1,250 yen, the other 900. They are not the screens presently in Anderson House, for those were bought in 1910, the year the Andersons returned to Japan. One short gold-ground folding screen is pictured in Isabel Anderson's 1900 portrait, discussed below, and this suggests that these early screens went to Brookline. The short screen in the portrait is seen utilized as a fireplace screen, a logical application. The location of these screens is unknown, but a full-sized pair displaying battle scenes and by a contemporary Meiji-period painter, Yūsai (dates unknown), was donated to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston by the estate of Isabel Anderson.³² Japanese folding screens are typically on paper to support the weight of their size and their painted and sometimes gilded decorations. The only characteristic of the folding screens noted on the shipping inventory is their being on silk, not paper, which is unusual. The Yūsai screens are, in fact, on silk, making them likely honeymoon purchases.

Isabella Stewart Gardner's history with Japanese folding screens and sliding wall panels (*fusuma*) offers insight into the Andersons' use of them. Gardner purchased a single pair of folding screens when she was in Japan in 1883, a fairly modest investment in this large-format painting type. Photographs of her Brookline estate, Green Hill, show them positioned as backdrops to corners and as part of a mix of Western and East Asian decoration. Gardner developed an appetite for folding screens and *fusuma* in 1903, with her construction of Fenway Court where she used these large works not in their intended manner, but as a form of rigid tapestry, hung flat and elevated on walls. Gardner sought out dynamic compositions, most featuring gold backgrounds and depiction in rich mineral pigments. Whether the Andersons visited Gardner's Green Hill is unknown, but they did attend

a Christmas party at Fenway Court in 1904 where they would have seen the decorating potential of large Japanese paintings.³³ Following Gardner's history, the Andersons made a major purchase of Japanese folding screens on their next trip to Japan in 1910.³⁴ When Isabel Anderson donated Anderson House to the Society of the Cincinnati, important tapestries in the ballroom were removed, and Japanese folding screens hung in their stead, densely placed in an effect much like Gardner's at Fenway Court (fig. 9).

CRYSTAL BALLS

The Andersons' second most expensive purchase was a pair of crystal balls with ivory stands, which they obtained for 3,000 yen (plate 59). Crystal-ball gazing was a fad in the later nineteenth century, alongside other alternative practices of the occult and spiritualism like séances. Crystal balls were associated with "the mysterious Orient," and Japan was a major producer of them.³⁵ Lilian Whiting, surveying such practices in Boston in 1902, declared the city "the paradise of cranks...palmistry, astrology, card-reading, crystal-gazing, and every sort and condition of soothsayer receives a greater or lesser degree of patronage."³⁶ Pre-Raphaelite painters used crystal balls as attributes of their Romantic beauties, and the association of women with the jewel-like orbs was widespread. The Andersons evidence in their writings no interest in any of this, but this expensive purchase recalls this Boston environment. One ball and stand stayed in Washington, DC; the other set went to their Brookline property and is now lost.

The Andersons clearly prized the crystal balls, for one is prominently displayed in Isabel's portrait by Cecilia Beaux (1855–1942, plate 51). The life-size portrait was begun in December 1900 at Weld.³⁷ The portrait contrasts meaningfully with Pre-Raphaelite works: where painters such as Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98) presented their idealized subjects gazing intently into crystal balls held in their hands, Anderson's portrait includes the crystal ball and its stand on a table directly adjacent to the figure. Isabel Anderson is a "beauty" in her portrait: she wears a white diaphanous gown, bare armed, bodice cut low

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10. East Hall featuring the Buddhist home altar, Anderson House, 1910. Photo: Frances Benjamin Johnston, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

and waist cinched to seemingly impossible narrowness, an emerald brooch, and her full auburn hair swept up. Her figure is dynamic, as her weight is shifted forward and her right hand sits provisionally on the adjacent table.

Anderson’s possessions serve as attributes of her wealth, taste, and privileged access to the world. Fireplace mantel and mirror, sconces, and table are French Louis XIV style, while the fireplace screen is a short gilded Japanese folding screen and the table presents the crystal ball and its ivory dragon stand. The screen was surely one of the “silk screens” listed on the packing inventory since in 1900 the Andersons had probably not yet begun buying Japanese art from dealers in the United States.³⁸ The screen is vague in the background, a golden radiance and Japanese signifier. The crystal ball set is more important, being placed in the foreground and within the geometry of Isabel’s dress and extended arm. The crystal ball in white tones and the warm ivory of the dragon stand echo the color scheme of Isabel’s dress. Crystal balls were supposed to mist over and reveal the future, but here it reflects back the luminosity of its owner as an attribute of her character.³⁹

BUDDHIST HOME ALTAR

The Andersons’ single most expensive honeymoon purchase would have been considered an unusual choice, except in Boston. This was a Buddhist “private house shrine,” priced at 3,500 yen. No longer extant, the 1910 photographic survey of the house shows a tall black lacquered cabinet housing a gilded altar and ritual implements and elevated on a black lacquer base (fig. 10). Isabel wrote that it featured a gilt bronze standing Buddha, seated flanking figures, and a bronze low-relief gilt screen highlighting a palace and dancers in the forecourt.⁴⁰ In total, the altar cabinet stood seven feet, nine inches tall.⁴¹ Later nineteenth-century Massachusetts was a hotbed of philosophical inquiry, which encompassed mainline Protestant denominations, Concord’s Transcendentalists, and major non-Western traditions including Buddhism. In 1883, famed Episcopal minister Phillips Brooks (1835–93), explaining his visiting India, remarked: “These days when a large part of Boston prefers to consider itself Buddhist rather than Christian, I consider it to be the duty of a minister who preaches to Bostonians.”⁴² The Andersons evince no particular sentiments about faith in any of their writings, but Buddhism was clearly part of the fabric of upper-class life in Boston. Indeed, Isabel Anderson characterized Buddhism as pessimistic in outlook, which was the more common understanding of nineteenth-century Americans.⁴³

The Andersons collected Buddhist icons as artworks, particularly examples of Japanese metalwork. Americans and Europeans held Japanese metalwork in very high esteem. Writing in 1882, Christopher Dresser (1834–1904) was typical in his praise: “The Japanese are the only perfect metal-workers which the world has yet produced.”⁴⁴ American admiration in the later nineteenth century helped transform sacred Buddhist ritual objects into desirable art collectibles.⁴⁵ The Buddhist house shrine, the prize acquisition of the Andersons’ honeymoon, was the first of many purchases of Buddhist metal craft. In *The Spell of Japan*, Isabel follows the standard line of praise for bronze casting, speaking to the “wealth of imagination” and the many colors of metal, and their surface polish.⁴⁶ The bronze figures and screen of the home altar she characterized as “indescribably fine and beautiful.”

The Andersons purchased a number of bronze pieces on their honeymoon in 1897, the bronze figures and low-relief screen of the home altar being the only Buddhist works. But, they had wanted to obtain a stand-alone bronze Buddha, too. Larz wrote in his 1911 inventory that he had tried to buy such an object in both 1888 and on the honeymoon, but was only able to realize the wish by purchase in New York in 1903.⁴⁷ This was a seven-feet, six-inch seated bronze Buddha, its height further enhanced by elevation on a lotus pedestal and a squared dais.⁴⁸ The Andersons also later acquired Japanese wooden Buddhist icons, these on a smaller scale, including a gilded seated Amida Buddha (plate 65).

How Isabel Anderson explained the meaning of their most important Buddhist icons



11. Entrance Hall (looking west), Anderson House, 1910. Photo: Frances Benjamin Johnston, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

in *The Spell of Japan* reflects the Andersons’ limited understanding of Buddhism and their focus on affective qualities such as beauty and charm. Anderson anthropomorphizes the divinities: the large seated bronze Buddha “sits serene and imperturbable”; a five-foot Kannon (present whereabouts unknown) has a small Buddha in her crown “typifying her ever-present thought of him”; and the group from the home altar is composed of the small standing Buddha and “his advisers” who watch “a No dance...for the entertainment of the Buddha.”⁴⁹ In fact, the seated Buddha’s impassive expression signifies his enlightenment; the Amida Buddha in Kannon’s crown is required by iconography; and the Buddha collected devotees, not advisers, who in this case surely included a host of divinities gathered in a Buddhist pure land, which East Asians imagined as a beautiful palatial setting replete with court dancers. Nō is a form of drama that developed in Japan’s medieval period and that the Andersons had experienced.



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12. Italian garden at Weld, 1911. Gelatin silver print, 16 x 56.5 in. Photo: Norton Photo Co., Library of Congress, Washington, DC, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2007660982/>.

The large Buddhist objects had priority in the arrangement of Anderson House’s interior. The mansion has a center entrance that gives access to two wings, left and right: the right was used to receive and entertain guests; the left was the family’s residence. The Andersons made the massive bronze Buddha the first object one saw upon entering the vestibule, for he sat directly opposite the door and against the back wall (fig. 11). The architecture signaled formality with three shallow wall niches across the back, the center one given to the Buddha. A pair of gilt bronze temple lanterns frame the entryway to the hospitality side of the house (plate 64); a pair of similarly shaped stone lanterns attend the entry to the family’s side. These, too, were purchased in the United States for the Anderson residences.⁵⁰ The Buddhist house shrine sat just inside the entry to the family’s side of the house, concluding the flow of Buddhist objects.

The Buddhist icons were visually arresting, but more importantly, they were essential to the Andersons’ construction of public persona. The Andersons filled their Washington mansion with fine furniture and art, primarily Western. The giant painting, *Triumph of the Dogaressa* (Jose Villegas Cordero, 1844–1921) commands the landing of the great staircase; a series of eight Diana tapestries (c. 1600) hung in the dining room and gallery. The Andersons commissioned Henry Siddons Mowbray (1858–1928) to paint a series of murals for which the mansion remains famous. Yet, it was Japanese icons that came first in the visitor’s encounter with the house.

The Japanese Buddhist icons were tokens of the Andersons’ first-hand knowledge of the world and specifically their privileged access to Japan. For Larz, his cumulative experience in Japan, culminating in ambassadorship in 1912, cemented his status as a statesman among Americans. Isabel Anderson was a Japan expert in her own right, cultivating a career in writing in travel and children’s literature and drama, drawing heavily on her access to the halls of Japanese power. Her 1914 *The Spell of Japan* put her on par with male Japan experts as she joined their ranks as one qualified to explain Japan and its culture. The final major purchase the Andersons made on their honeymoon, an enormous bronze eagle that went to Weld, speaks most directly to how the Andersons understood themselves in the context of US-Japan relations.

BRONZE EAGLE

The bronze eagle was the Andersons’ only large sculpture (plates 85a–b), bought for 1,000 yen. Standing on a pedestal shaped as an ivy-draped rock, the bird is taut and alert,

its head jutting out in attention and wings set for landing. The figure is life-size; were the wings outstretched instead of raised, they would span nine feet. The shipping receipt shows it was transported in three sections: its head and torso; wings; and base. The eagle’s wings have flanges that slot into holes in the sides of the torso and the pegged bottoms of the claws fit into the pedestal. All of the honeymoon purchases shipped by rail to Washington, but this piece confirms that some of those treasures were sent on to Weld.

The Andersons occupied Weld in the warm months when Washington’s social season ended at Easter. The Andersons took possession of the property in 1899 before they owned Anderson House in Washington, DC. When completed, Weld featured a stately home accompanied by a large formal Italian garden, a water garden, a bowling green, a polo field, a greenhouse, and a Japanese garden. Affluent Bostonians located summer homes in Brookline because of its balance of distance and proximity to Boston and its verdant greenery. Isabel’s cousin Mary “May” Pratt Sprague (1871–1956) and her husband Charles owned Faulkner Farm there, while John L. and Isabella Stewart Gardner had Green Hill.

Larz Anderson devoted considerable energy to devising improvements to the estate. The existing house was modest by the standards of the day, and the Andersons required a ballroom and spacious master bedroom suite. However, even before addressing the house, Larz turned to the grounds. The first project at Weld was the formal Italian garden, which harked back to the initial meeting of Larz and Isabel in Rome and was completed in 1901 (fig. 12). In 1904, *Town and Country* magazine declared the Italian garden, “Perhaps one of the most beautiful and satisfying of formal gardens in this country.”⁵¹ The Andersons added a rose garden and tennis court in 1902.⁵²

More unusual was the Andersons’ next garden project, a Japanese garden of roughly thirty by forty feet, which provided a home to the eagle and a collection of bonsai “tray gardens”⁵³ (fig. 13). The Andersons constructed this garden in 1907 with the help of a Japanese garden designer whom they only ever name as “Onchi san.” Like the Italian garden and its reference to the couple’s meeting, the Japanese garden conjured the honeymoon. The Andersons had particularly admired Japanese gardens, enjoying the landscaping and ornament. The exceptional size of their Japanese bronze eagle had to be another catalyst for the garden as a solution to displaying it. Another stimulus might well have been Isabella Stewart Gardner’s Japanese garden at her Brookline estate, which also responded to direct experience in Japan. In Gardner’s case, souvenir photographs mounted into scrapbooks served as references for constructing her garden, which featured Japanese iris growing in



13. Japanese garden at Weld, 1910. Photograph album of Larz and Isabel Anderson, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.

wetland.⁵⁴ The Andersons' garden refers directly to garden elements they saw and mentioned in letters from Japan.

Isabel Anderson gave readers of the magazine *House and Garden* a tour of the Japanese garden in 1909.⁵⁵ "You" visit a Massachusetts "country house" where, "when you enter the thatched gateway you forget New England—you are in Japan." Anderson establishes the authenticity of this garden by introducing its designer and custodian, "Onchi San," who works in "native costume." Isabel's descriptions of garden features directly recall Larz Anderson's account of Kyoto gardens visited during their honeymoon. The entry gate is constructed in a rustic Japanese fashion: two posts with gabled thatched roof engaged by a board fence topped with shallow shingled roof. As in Kyoto, their garden offers a small waterfall named "Wash the Moon Cascade," gold and silver fish in a small pond, and a "pigmy bridge." Following the Kyoto description, Isabel says their Japanese garden has a grassy path leading to miniature mountains forested by dwarfed trees. Larz also described this garden when the *Hōchi* newspaper interviewed him in 1913 as America's ambassador to Japan. "I have a Japanese garden, although it might be only a name from your point of view. Still I specially engaged a Japanese gardener for the construction of that garden, and really it is rather an accomplished garden, for it has artificial hills, a wooden gate, stepping stones, stone lanterns, a pond, a cataract, and all else needed for a Japanese garden."⁵⁶

What Larz does not describe to the Japanese newspaper is the decidedly atypical inclusion of a garden figure. Japanese gardens offer stone lanterns, towers, or basins, and rustic elements of architecture as accents to otherwise natural compositions. Only temple or shrine gardens generally included statuary as these have votive significance, such as small sculpted figures like Jizō Bodhisattva. Including the bronze eagle is more in keeping with European approaches to garden ornament. Isabel Anderson makes plain, though, that the Japanese eagle was their garden's crowning feature: "Above you rises the huge bronze eagle; he is the one high point, the key of the Japanese garden."⁵⁷ The Andersons placed their eagle in the pond; behind him was a rise faced with rocks and cascading water, thus enhancing his wild, natural setting.

Photographs show that the eagle had priority in the garden. From the start, the garden had trees, but these were trained to restrain their height. In the earliest photographs the garden accents are otherwise restricted to pruned woody plants in ceramic and metal pots such as the honeymoon inventory lists. The height and mass of the eagle is challenged only by the ridge of the garden gate. Isabel's description of the garden in 1909 reveals it did have another art object not visible in the early photographs: a small stone seated Buddha (fig. 13). No such object is listed in the honeymoon inventory, so they must have acquired it when they built up their collection of Buddhist works through dealers in Boston and New York.

Isabel gives the eagle and the Buddha a narrative. To the eagle, she ascribes menace: "His piercing eye looks down to frighten you." The threat is assuaged by the much smaller Buddha: "Reflected in the smooth surface of a pool near by [*sic*], sits the calm and smiling Buddha to dispel the fear; and so peace and happiness pervade this little fragment of the far East."⁵⁸ This is a novel interpretation that elides the conventional meaning of the eagle and ignores Buddhist interpretation. Indeed, it is almost ironic given that Isabel Anderson characterized Buddhism in *The Spell of Japan* as essentially pessimistic.

The eagle also had personal meaning for the Andersons. Larz was a proud member of the Society of the Cincinnati, America's oldest patriotic organization. It was founded in 1783 at the conclusion of the War of Independence by its officer veterans. Anderson's great-grandfather, Richard Clough Anderson (1750–1826), was an original member, and membership passed down to one male descendant. Larz was made a member in 1894.⁵⁹ Founding members of the organization purchased certificates signed by George Washington that included a symbolic depiction of the war: a Roman-styled soldier brandishes an American battle flag with the American eagle on it and an eagle clutches a sheaf of lightning bolts. Lightning shoots from the raptor at a cowering lion, while Britannia yields before the soldier. The Andersons prominently displayed the certificate in Anderson House, giving it a custom gilt frame crested by the American eagle.⁶⁰ Whereas the Society rendered its eagle typically in a symmetrical flat design, the eagle of the frame recalls the Andersons' Japanese eagle: fully three-dimensional and naturalistic, its wings are raised but not outspread and it stands on a rounded perch (plate 67).

Larz Anderson again commissioned a naturalistic eagle like their Japanese sculpture in 1911, ordering a mantel clock and garniture from New York's Edward F. Caldwell Company that incorporated the themes and insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati (plate 66). Perhaps the most prominent element of the multi-figure composition is an eagle, placed centrally over the clock face. This eagle stretches out his wings as a canopy for the seated figures of War and Victory, and his claws clutch a torch and battle standard as a base. But, the torso strongly recalls the Andersons' Japanese eagle in the manner in which the bird's neck is craned fully to the side, his facial features echoing the other's.

ANDERSON THE AMBASSADOR

The eagle image remained a patriotic touchstone for the Andersons and at the same time reminiscent of Japan. Larz Anderson returned to diplomatic service in 1911 when President Taft appointed him minister to Belgium. In December 1912, Taft promoted Anderson and changed his posting, making him ambassador to Japan. From the outset, this was a brief honor because Taft had lost the election and Woodrow Wilson would soon occupy the White House. Anderson, though, was grateful: "I find a great deal of satisfaction in concluding my Diplomatic career by reaching the highest grade in the service—an ambassadorship. Japan, too, is one of our three most important posts."⁶¹ The Andersons spent Christmas of 1912 in Kyoto and New Year's in Tokyo.⁶²

While ambassador, the eagle image served the Andersons in the form of the Great Seal of State, or "the American coat-of-arms," in Larz's words.⁶³ The Great Seal monogrammed the *haori* (jacket) of the embassy servants, who wore Japanese attire, and the side

of the automobile Anderson ordered for their use, a Hudson 33. Their coachman and outrunner, and chauffeur and footman, too, wore the monogram, which Isabel in *The Spell of Japan* referred to always as “the eagle.”⁶⁴

The Andersons deployed the eagle in one other instance, which followed custom among Tokyo elites: the giving of small table favors at dinner parties. Usually such things were a lacquer cup or box, or some object rendered in silver. The Andersons joined this custom by commissioning small silver boxes “with the American eagle upon them” for their many parties at the embassy.⁶⁵ According to Isabel, both foreigners and Japanese greatly treasured these mementos, making collections of them. While no embassy box survives, two such favors the Andersons received themselves remain in the Anderson House collection: a birdcage and a Japanese palanquin (plates 56–57). These were imperial gifts, one luncheon at the palace being the source for the birdcage, and a February 1 luncheon yielding the palanquin. They apparently received a miniature hibachi on that date, too.⁶⁶

These silver mementos were not the only imperial gifts the Andersons received. The Andersons concluded their tenure in Japan with an intense schedule of dinners and visits. On March 2, they received the Japanese Grand Master of Ceremonies and his interpreter at the embassy, sent to them by the empress. After expressing the empress’s greeting and inquiries about future plans, the Japanese visitors presented Isabel a gift, a gold lacquered box (plate 58).⁶⁷ Tied with a red-and-white silk cord, the box features the imperial seal and a design of iris. The treatment of the decoration follows the taste of the times, so that the plants are rendered large against the sprinkled gold background, emerging from one side and spreading across the top and adjacent sides. “In return,” wrote Isabel, “we bowed and expressed our gratitude for the great honor, speaking of our love for the country and our deep regret at leaving, and adding that we should always have the happiest memories of our stay in beautiful Japan.”⁶⁸

Larz and Isabel Anderson offer an instructive example of American engagement with Japanese culture. They were not among the first tier of American Japanophiles, neither dedicating their intellectual energies to the country’s study nor collecting its art on a large scale. What their activities demonstrate is the degree to which Japan and its art permeated the interests of high-class Americans. The Andersons were foremost invested in their identities as Americans and their homes reflected their chief attraction to Euro-American artistic traditions. Yet, into this mix was Japan, a “Wonderland” in Larz’s youthful expression. The Andersons were at home in their world—not among the spiritually disaffected alienated by Western religious traditions or industrialization—but in their travels to Japan and their creation of domestic spaces dedicated to or accented with Japanese objects, we see the more quotidian pleasures Japan had to offer. Like their Brookline neighbor, Isabella Stewart Gardner, and other wealthy Northeasterners like George Walter Vincent Smith (1832–1923) in Springfield, Massachusetts or Louisine Havemeyer (1855–1929) in New York, Japan was part of a fertile cultural mix reflective of the period’s cosmopolitanism and a clarifier, bringing into focus by contrast what was beautiful and why. The Andersons’ large Italian garden at Weld was enhanced by its companion, the smaller Japanese garden; their exquisite Japanese lacquer works were counterpoint to their American and European art. And, in the eagle, the two points of the compass combined: American symbol finely wrought in Japanese bronze.

- 1 See Stephen T. Moskey, *Larz and Isabel Anderson: Wealth and Celebrity in the Gilded Age* (Bloomington: iUniverse, 2016) for a biography of the couple.
- 2 Anderson’s letters were collected, typed, and bound into journals. Each volume is individually titled and kept in the Anderson Family Papers in the library of the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.
- 3 Isabel Anderson, *The Spell of Japan* (Boston: Page, 1914).
- 4 Victoria Weston, *East Meets West: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Okakura Kakuzō*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1992); Alan Chong and Noriko Murai, *Journeys East: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Asia*, exh. cat. (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2009).
- 5 Hina Hirayama, “‘A True Japanese Taste’: Construction of Knowledge about Japan in Boston, 1880–1900” (PhD diss., Boston University, 1998). Hirayama discusses Morse in her second chapter.
- 6 Isabel Anderson, ed., *Larz Anderson: Letters and Journals of a Diplomat* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1940).
- 7 Privately published booklets of Larz’s sketches are in the Anderson Family Papers at the Society of the Cincinnati.
- 8 Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 41. Several of Coolidge’s letters home from Japan describing his life and impressions there are reproduced in John Gardner Coolidge, *Random Letters from Many Countries* (Boston: Marshall Jones, 1924). He mentions the arrival of Anderson and Thomas in Tokyo and his home on page 33.
- 9 Larz Anderson, *A Post Graduate Course around the World, 1888–1889* [typescript journal] (Washington, DC: The Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson Family Papers), 36.
- 10 Coolidge, *Random Letters*, 28; Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 41.
- 11 Anderson, *Post Graduate Course*, 37.
- 12 Coolidge, *Random Letters*, 20.
- 13 Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 40.
- 14 Mr. and Mrs. “Lars” Anderson arrived in Japan on the British steamer *Doric*, which departed on July 27 from San Francisco and traveled via Honolulu (*Japan Weekly Mail*, Aug. 21, 1897, 205).
- 15 The Andersons are listed departing on the *Doric*, which set sail on November 30 for San Francisco via Honolulu (*Japan Weekly Mail*, Dec. 4, 1897, 610).
- 16 Larz Anderson, *Some Scraps: Our Wedding Journey and Our Trip to India in 1897–98–99* [typescript journal] (Washington, DC: The Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson Family Papers), 25 (plate 54 in this volume).
- 17 According to the *Japan Weekly Mail*, “Foreign Residents of Tokyo,” Aug. 28, 1897, 220. Americans totaled the largest foreign contingent in Tokyo. Second were the English at 160.
- 18 Anderson, *Our Wedding Journey* [Sept. 27], 27.
- 19 Anderson, 38. Anderson used “grotesque” as an adjective with some frequency; it carries the connotation of “weird” rather than “loathsome.”
- 20 Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 46.
- 21 Anderson, *Our Wedding Journey*, 38.
- 22 For the “Tokyo Art School Disturbance,” see Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and His Circle* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004), 159–61.
- 23 Anderson, *Our Wedding Journey*, 24.
- 24 Anderson, 24.
- 25 Anderson, 27.
- 26 This is Anderson’s own handwritten copy; the original on company letterhead is not extant. The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.
- 27 One hundred *sen* equals 1 yen. Isabel gives valuations for Japanese currency in her 1914 *Spell of Japan* as follows: 1 yen = 50 cents (160n1); 1 *sen* = ¼ cent (330n1). The math does not work

“Wonderland of the World”: The Andersons and Japan

out, but these valuations give some sense of Japanese pricing.

- 28 Set of ninety-seven photographs of Anderson House by Frances Benjamin Johnston (1864–1952), 1910, collection of the Society of the Cincinnati. Some of these are available online through the Library of Congress: “Larz Anderson House, 2118 Massachusetts Avenue Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, DC,” <https://www.loc.gov/item/dc0009/>.
- 29 Two good sources on Meiji-period Japanese lacquer are William Hosley, *The Japan Idea: Art and Life in Victorian America*, exh. cat. (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1990), esp. 58–61 and Joe Earle, *Splendors of Meiji: Treasures from Imperial Japan; Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection*, exh. cat. (St. Petersburg: Broughton International, 1999), 184–209. Both books address the major mediums collected by Americans in the later nineteenth century.
- 30 For comparison, see Earle, *Splendors of Meiji*, cat. no. 177, with its empty *ushiguruma* and ribbon-like waters. A writing box with inside design of stream and flowering chrysanthemums in the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, Springfield, is another similar example.
- 31 Perhaps Ninsei’s most famous work was his *Tea Jar with Design of Mount Yoshino*, Fukuoka Art Museum. It is reproduced in Penelope Mason’s *A History of Japanese Art*, 2nd. ed. (New York: Pearson Prentice-Hall, 2005), 298 and frequently elsewhere.
- 32 Yūsai Mahaya (1824–?), *Battle of Shinsen*, pair of six-panel folding screens, ink, color, and gold on silk, 1893–94, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, RES.49.162. No other Japanese artwork is listed in the collection as gifts or donations from the Andersons. This painter is otherwise unknown.
- 33 Larz Anderson, *More Scraps: A Bit of Mexico in 1901; Kentucky—The Saint Louis Exposition; An Autumn in Brookline; In 1901 & 1904* [typescript journal] (Washington, DC: The Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson Family Papers), 47–48.
- 34 The Andersons arrived in Japan on July 17, 1910. A shipping receipt gives the purchase date of six pairs of six-panel folding screens plus a lone six-panel screen as July 18, 1910; thus they wasted no time in acquiring such works (Shipping receipt for five cases of screens purchased by Larz Anderson from S. Hayashi, Aug. 4, 1910, 3, Anderson Family Papers, the Society of the Cincinnati).
- 35 Tomoko Nagakura, assistant curator of Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston discussed this topic in her talk, “Japanese Crystal Balls and Western Spiritualism,” as part of the panel “The Everyday and the Unusual: Japanese Art Objects and Victorian Ideals,” New England Association for Asian Studies, January 2017. See especially her “The Stuff of Dragon’s Breath: Collecting Japanese Crystal Balls in Victorian Boston,” in this volume.
- 36 Lilian Whiting, *Boston Days* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1902), 355. Whiting shares this story in the same section: “A daintily gowned young woman sitting in a club parlor in this region was asked if she believed in thought-transference. ‘Oh, I am far beyond that,’ she replied airily; ‘I am in the sphere of intense vibrations’” (353).
- 37 Several sources discuss the work of Cecilia Beaux, beginning with *The Paintings and Drawings of Cecilia Beaux* by her eldest nephew, Henry S. Drinker (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1955). More recent works include Tara Leigh Tappert, *Cecilia Beaux and the Art of Portraiture*, exh. cat. (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1995); Alice Carter, *Cecilia Beaux: A Modern Painter in the Gilded Age* (New York: Rizzoli, 2005); and Sylvia Yount et al., *Cecilia Beaux: American Figure Painter*, exh. cat. (Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 2007).
- 38 There are few references in Larz’s journals and receipts to shopping for Japanese art and none extant before the completion of Anderson House in Washington.
- 39 Larz Anderson’s mother, Elizabeth Coles Kilgour Anderson (1843–1917), shared their enthusiasm for the crystal balls. After a fire at Weld in 1901, she wrote to her son: “Only do tell me that the crystal balls are safe, and the Louis XIV furniture unimpaired and I will feel better” (Letters of Mrs. Nicholas Longworth Anderson [typescript letter], 319, Anderson Family Papers, the Society of the Cincinnati). At that point, both crystal balls sets were in Massachusetts.
- 40 Anderson, *Spell of Japan*, 224–25. It is not quite clear how many figures, aside from the Buddha, were freestanding ones versus those in low relief on the screen.
- 41 Larz Anderson, “An Inventory of Articles in Anderson House, Washington City” [1911], 74–75, Anderson Family Papers, the Society of the Cincinnati. The shrine is absent from the inventory taken in 1937, the year before Isabel Anderson completed the donation of the house

and its contents to the Society of the Cincinnati.

- 42 Quoted in Thomas Tweed, *The American Encounter with Buddhism, 1844–1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 27.
- 43 Anderson, *Spell of Japan*, 107–8; Tweed, *American Encounter*, 6–8.
- 44 Christopher Dresser, *Traditional Arts and Crafts of Japan* (1882; New York: Dover, 1994), 429.
- 45 Hosley, *Japan Idea*, 52–56.
- 46 Anderson, *Spell of Japan*, 224.
- 47 Anderson, “Inventory of Articles,” handwritten note adding to typed object information.
- 48 Curatorial object file M.1938.376, the Society of the Cincinnati; purchased from A. A. Vantine & Co., New York, Jan. 23, 1903. The figure now sits outdoors because the vestibule had to accommodate a reception area for visitors to Anderson House.
- 49 Anderson, *Spell of Japan*, 224.
- 50 The bronze temple lanterns were purchased at a Yamanaka auction in Boston. The stone pagoda lanterns were purchased from Vantine and apparently at the same time as a pair of stone lanterns used at Weld. Anderson, “Inventory of Articles,” 2.
- 51 “The Gardens at Weld: The Home of Mr. Larz Anderson at Brookline, Mass.,” *Town and Country* 59, no. 1 (Mar. 1904): 12–16. The Italian garden was 206 by 196 feet.
- 52 Isabel Anderson provided a timeline of Weld garden projects with names of designers in a footnote. Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 212.
- 53 For the Anderson bonsai collection, see Peter Del Tredici, “From Temple to Terrace: The Remarkable Journey of the Oldest Bonsai in America,” *Arnoldia* 64 (2006): 2–30.
- 54 On their 1883 world tour and visit to Japan, Isabella and John L. Gardner also shipped their purchases from Yokohama, and these included tulip bulbs and iris corms. Alan Chong, “Introduction: Journeys East,” in Chong and Murai, *Journeys East*, 24. The source of this information was John’s diary, in which he made brief, nearly daily notes on their travel activities. He mentions the rather strange combination of iris, native to Japan, and tulips, which were much more commonly acquired in Holland and native to Central Asia. Gardner’s Japanese garden and its irises were in place by 1886.
- 55 Isabel Anderson, “A Japanese Garden in America,” *House and Garden* 16, no. 3 (1909): 90–91.
- 56 Larz Anderson, *Some Scraps: An Embassy to Japan across Siberia and through Korea to Happy Days and Associations in Tokyo, 1913* [typescript journal] (Washington, DC: The Society of the Cincinnati, Anderson Family Papers), 95.
- 57 Anderson, “Japanese Garden,” 90.
- 58 Anderson, 90.
- 59 Bryce Metcalf, *Original Members and Other Officers Eligible to the Society of the Cincinnati, 1783–1938* (Strasburg: Shenandoah, 1938), 34.
- 60 For explanation of the certificate and other uses of the Society eagle insignia, see Emily Schulz Parsons, *Anderson House Interpretative Plan* (Washington, DC: American Revolution Institute, the Society of the Cincinnati, June 2018), 77–81.
- 61 Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 354–55.
- 62 Anderson, 368, 370.
- 63 Anderson, 374–75.
- 64 Anderson, *Spell of Japan*, 45, 50.
- 65 Anderson, 37–38.
- 66 Anderson, *Letters and Journals*, 381–83.
- 67 Anderson, 399.
- 68 Anderson, *Spell of Japan*, 227.

The Stuff of Dragon's Breath: Collecting Japanese Crystal Balls in Victorian Boston

Tomoko Nagakura

IN FIN-DE-SIÈCLE BOSTON, HERBERT COPELAND (1867–1923), a Harvard undergraduate student and young member of the Visionists, an artistic and spiritual group, published his essay, “Of Camera Obscuras and Japanese Crystals.” His piece appeared in the *Knight Errant*, a short-lived Boston literary magazine devoted to Romantic ideals. Copeland used the two viewing devices to oppose the real and literal with the Romantic and evocative. In his 1892 essay, he sings the praises of the crystal ball:

Every one, too, has seen a Japanese crystal: has looked with admiration at the shining globe,—raised, perchance, on the wings of some impossible dragon,—and has wondered whence came that moonlike radiance. Every one has gazed into the unfathomable depths and seen his surroundings dimly shadowed there; has seen his neighbours, vague and hardly recognizable, floating in the crystal shimmer. One can never tell just when they come and go, or where or how: they seem not to come or go, but to appear and disappear within the infinite centre. Imagination sees them ever in the changing shadows. 'Tis a beautiful thing, wherever it may be, this crystal globe, beautiful in itself and in its shadowy reflections; and strange in its influence with the souls of men.¹

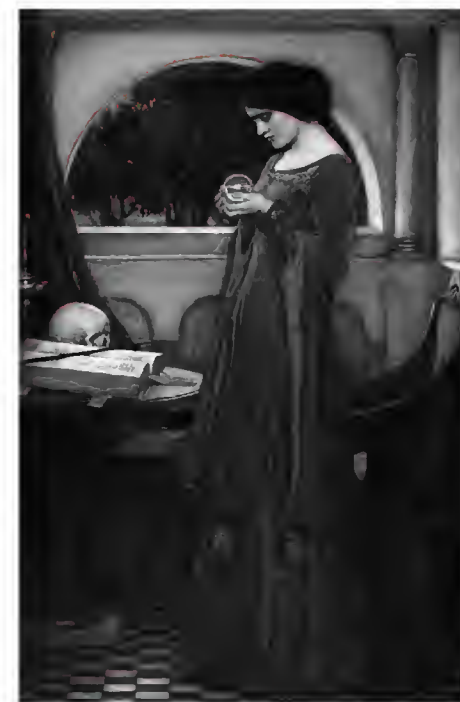
The youthful writer invests the crystal with aesthetic and mystical power. At the same time, his sweeping “every one” shows how established crystal balls were in the culture of his day. Their use was a fleeting fad that was part of the larger Western cultural interest in “the exotic.” Crystal balls gained special interest after the Civil War, when particularly women yearned to reconnect with dead loved ones by seeking the otherworldly in their depths. Crystal balls continued to attract many admirers because they were beautiful objects redolent of the mysterious Orient. For some of these, crystal balls were tools for discovering alternative spiritualities untarnished by the war or industrialization.

This paper looks at the spectrum of crystal ball use in nineteenth-century New England, rather than as art objects or as contextualized in their native Japan. Americans were avid collectors of crystal balls; this essay will focus on Frederick Lothrop Ames (1835–93), who purchased one in 1893 and bequeathed it to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and Isabel (1876–1948) and Larz (1866–1937) Anderson, part-time Brookline residents, who bought theirs while honeymooning in Japan in 1897.² These two purchases exemplify the taste for Japanese exoticism and crystal balls in particular.

CRYSTAL BALLS AND MEDIEVAL REVIVALISM IN VICTORIAN BOSTON

The nineteenth century has been called the “Century of Spiritualism” for its many new religious and spiritual movements, and Boston was one of its centers thanks to the prominence of the area’s pioneering Transcendentalists. Many elites increasingly felt alienated by industrialization while some lost faith in conventional Protestantism, which seemed to prioritize material wellbeing over the spiritual. Boston’s Visionists took inspiration from the concurrent revival of medieval ideals in the British Isles, which yielded the Arts and Crafts movement of William Morris, art by Pre-Raphaelites, and literature by Oscar Wilde. Such movements sought to champion beauty for its own sake, the integrity of the handmade, and experiences of intense, spiritual revelation. The *Knight Errant*, modeled on William Morris’s Kelmscott Press, epitomized these ideals by calling for aesthetic knights “to war against the Paynims [pagans] of realism in art, to assail the dragon of materialism, and the fierce dragon of mammonism, to ride for the succour of forlorn hopes and the restoration of forgotten ideals.”³

The Visionists were one of the many Boston groups dedicated to spiritualist investigations. Visionists sought what they termed “the invisibles,” looking for them in art and literally through mystical devices such as crystal balls. They met regularly in downtown Boston to share their interest in art and literature, but also to practice occult investigations such as rubbing the shiny surfaces of Japanese lacquerware to see visions.⁴ Members included artists such as F. Holland Day (1864–1933), the pioneering photographer, and Ralph Adams Cram (1863–1942), the Boston medievalist and architect known for his Gothic Revival



1. John William Waterhouse, *The Crystal Ball*, 1902. Oil on canvas, 47.5 x 34.5 in., private collection.



2. Henry Siddons Mowbray, *Le Destin*, 1896. Oil on canvas, 29.9 x 40.5 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Tompkins Collection—Arthur Gordon Tompkins Fund, 1979.39.

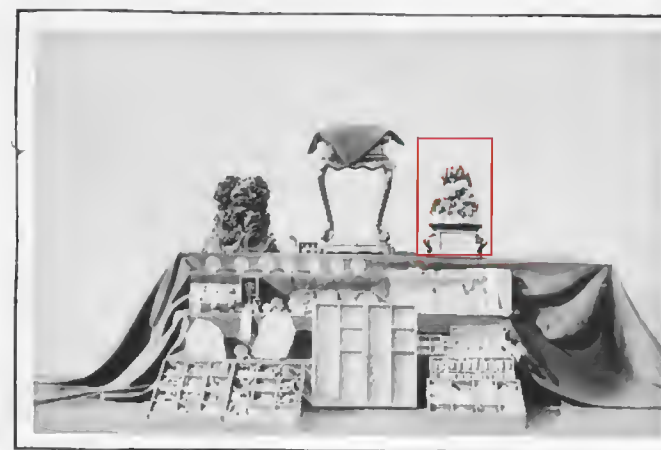


3. Edward Burne-Jones, *Baronne Madeleine Deslandes*, 1895–96. Oil on canvas, 45.5 x 22.9 in., National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, 2005.585.

churches. Cram's partner in his architectural firm, Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869–1924), was one of the designers for the *Knight Errant*, to which Cram and Goodhue contributed numerous articles as well as other Boston notables such as Charles Eliot Norton (1827–1908) and Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908).

Herbert Copeland's description of Japanese crystals and crystal balls in his *Knight Errant* piece clearly shows that he had handled them. He praised their innate beauty as objects: "It shines clear and beautiful...pure like the moon."⁵⁵ But Copeland also explicitly referred to scrying, the practice of looking into them as a form of divination. Looking in, he wrote, "always [offered] the possibility of seeing some strange and awful, or beautiful, vision; something not a reflection, but some shadow of a bygone or a future happening, some exquisite mystery of time or space."⁵⁶ Copeland's is the spiritualist's appreciation for their ability to make manifest "the invisibles."

British and American Pre-Raphaelite paintings captured the romance of the crystal ball. Painters such as John William Waterhouse (1849–1917, fig. 1) and Edward Burne-Jones (1833–98) painted Romantic, pensive beauties gazing deeply into crystal balls held in their hands. Such figures, dressed in flowing gowns and positioned in Gothicizing spaces, suggest imagined magical spaces in the past. American Henry Siddons Mowbray (1858–1928), hired by



4. Japanese "stone crafts" (*gyokuseki saiku*) display at the Weltausstellung 1873 Wien. Library of Economics, University of Tokyo.



5. Asakura Matsugorō, *Crystal Ball and Stand*, 1873. Wood, iron, quartz crystal, 15.9 x 6.1 in. (diam.), Tokyo National Museum.

Larz and Isabel Anderson to paint murals in their Washington, DC mansion, painted a group of such beauties in a columned portico weaving a tapestry while consulting a crystal ball (fig. 2). Sometimes, depictions of crystal ball gazers were actual portraits, as when Burne-Jones painted Baronne Madeleine Deslandes in 1894 (fig. 3). Even here, the woman poses in a long medieval gown, her hair gathered about her head in antique fashion. Isabel Anderson, too, had her portrait painted with a crystal ball, but by Cecilia Beaux, not Mowbray. Hers, though, is a portrait of a globetrotter, her crystal ball set upon a table in a room displaying various Japanese possessions (plate 51). Not every owner of a crystal ball saw guidance in its depths.

CRYSTAL BALLS AS EXPORT CRAFTS FROM JAPAN

Japan started competing in world's fairs with the Weltausstellung 1873 Wien. Since Japan was only just beginning industrialization, its displays tended toward natural resources and fine art objects in traditional mediums such as ceramics and lacquerwares. Among the great diversity of objects the Japanese government selected for display in Vienna were crystal balls. The exposition catalogue shows a page of "stone crafts" (*gyokuseki saiku*) including Japanese crystal balls (fig. 4). The caption explains that they were produced by an artist named Asakura Matsugorō from



6. "Method of Grinding Crystal Balls and Other Hard Stone Objects in Germany and France" and "Japanese Method of Chipping, Grinding and Polishing Rock-Crystal Balls," from Kunz, *Curious Lore*, 219.



7. "Crystal Ball, Supported by Bronze Dragon. Japanese," from Kunz, *Curious Lore*, 217.

Yotsuya, Tokyo. One very fine crystal ball and stand from the exposition (fig. 5), outlined to the right in figure 4, is now in Tokyo National Museum and is said to have been mined in Yamanashi Prefecture, which was known for the quality of its crystals.⁷

The popularity of Japanese crystal balls was part of a larger enthusiasm for gems and minerals. Gemologist and mineralogist Dr. George Frederick Kunz (1856–1932) of New York was a leading expert who wrote numerous books, lectured, and was an explorer and vice president for Tiffany & Company. Tiffany used a broad color palette for its Japanese-inspired luxury goods, which helped expand American taste for precious stones beyond the conventional. Kunz discovered a new crystal type that generally appears in lavender hues; Tiffany dubbed it "kunzite." When the United States sought to exhibit a collection of fine American gems and precious stones for the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris, Kunz was its expert. The exhibit of 382 specimens won a gold medal, and was later purchased by John Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913).⁸

In addition to his work with colored minerals, Kunz helped expand the audience for crystal balls, particularly those from Japan. Kunz explained their virtues first in 1886 in *Scientific American* and then again in his 1913 book, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*. The beauty of Japan's crystal balls, he explained, was owed to the painstaking efforts of its craftsmen, who, unlike European producers using heavy machinery, employed simple hand tools and infinite patience to work wonders (fig. 6). Indeed, while Kunz notes that "large, clear masses" are found in Japan, the industry also used crystal from China.⁹ It was the craftsmen, not the origin of the stones that made Japan's impeccable crystal globes. Kunz's book appealed directly to the spiritualists in Boston and elsewhere, for his chapter

discussed not just crystal balls as objects but the practice of crystal ball gazing as well.

SELLING CRYSTAL BALLS IN AMERICA

Japanese art dealers offered crystal balls alongside porcelains, paintings, and other works of Japanese art. Yamanaka Sadajirō (1866–1936), the pioneering art dealer who expanded his business rapidly from Osaka to New York (1895) and Boston (1899), listed crystal balls in his auction catalogues. One of his auctions in 1897, for instance, offered "Bronzes, Embroideries, Ivory carvings, Crystal balls and Vases, etc." in a packed slate of Japanese art objects avidly sought by Americans.¹⁰ Another important dealer of Japanese art in Paris, Tadamas Hayashi (1853–1906), was willing to search Japan for four months to find an excellent crystal ball for a Boston customer.¹¹

That customer was Frederick Lothrop Ames, a railroad magnate, businessman in many fields, and one of New England's wealthiest men. As an art collector, he purchased classic works and commissioned new ones. Like his peer J. P. Morgan, Ames collected gems and crystals. When Ames died suddenly, he bequeathed the world's largest crystal ball to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where he had been a trustee. This great stone cost Ames \$24,000 and was mined in Yamanashi, Japan and finished into sphere form in Miyamoto village. Ames's widow, Rebecca C. (Blair) Ames (1838–1903) donated the great crystal, the weekly journal the *Critic* reported, and "an entire case filled with crystals and jades."¹²

Crystal balls could be cradled in the hands as Pre-Raphaelite beauties were wont to do, but for display they needed stands. Herbert Copeland, in imagining that "every one" has seen a crystal ball, mused such a thing must be "raised, perchance, on the wings of some impossible dragon."¹³ George Kunz, mineral expert, shared with Western readers Japanese lore that crystal balls were the very products of dragons, the smaller white ones being "the congealed breath of the White Dragon" and "larger and more brilliant ones...the saliva of the Violet Dragon."¹⁴ Dragons, Kunz continued, are "emblematic of the highest powers of creation" (fig. 7). In East Asian painting, dragons and crystal balls were associated in the expression of primordial powers of creation. Dragons also figured into the mythology of medieval Europe, when magic was alive and scrying showed the future. The dragon was the appropriate form from which to make a stand for a crystal ball.

The crystal ball from the Vienna fair of 1873 in Tokyo National Museum sits atop a rocky crag carved in wood, around which a silver dragon curls, metal-cast waves beating at the base (fig. 5). Most stands employed precious materials commensurate to the value of the crystal ball. The Andersons' crystal ball is held aloft by a three-dimensionally carved ivory dragon (plate 59), its curling form cupping the ball. Crystal balls in American collections typically had stands of ivory or metal. Some use the dragon form, while others abbreviate the dragon's creative powers of water to just surging waves.¹⁵

When the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston received its crystal ball from Frederick Ames's widow, it had no stand. The Museum turned to the Yamanaka shop in Boston to commission an appropriate piece. No evidence remains to explain the commission or design process, so it is unknown whether it was Yamanaka or the Museum who selected the artist, but that it should be a dragon was surely a foregone conclusion for so important a crystal ball. Documents do remain to show that the stand arrived at the Museum from Japan in 1903 and that \$1,000 was paid to Yamanaka.

The stand that arrived is a wonder of surging waves and dragon (fig. 8). The supervising artist was Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919), Japan's most famous artist in metals.¹⁶ His work had dominated Japan's metals displays in world expositions from the 1870s through 1890s, and he had won countless medals for his extraordinary craftsmanship. Suzuki's stand for the Museum is cast silver; a funnel of waves surges upward, the crystal ball riding this crest. A dragon swirls around the ball, its form integral to the waves. It reaches up with one great claw, the waves answering back in curled fingers of water. The crystal ball at the peak of the composition is its one still point. Suzuki's signature is cast into the underside of the

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8. Suzuki Chōkichi, *Stand in Form of Waves*, c. 1900–03. Silver, 18.1 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Julia Bradford Huntington James Fund, 03.1880 and Naito Arimori and Naito Tsukuba, *Crystal Sphere*, 1884. Crystal, 7.3 in. (diam.), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Frederick L. Ames in the name of Frederick L. Ames, 93.1476.

stand, signed *teishitsu gigeiin*, (Artist-Craftsman to the Imperial Household, or Imperial Artist) a title that later designated an artist as a “living national treasure.”

CONCLUSION

The popularity of Japanese crystal balls in America shows the fortuitous conjunction of medieval revivalism and Japan’s entry into the world market for luxury goods. At the same time, world’s fairs fueled the commercial competition of nations, finding outlets in fine arts and wonders of nature. Crystal balls straddled these two worlds as minerals and art objects. They gained luster through the legends and properties ascribed to them, and no matter whether one was a spiritualist seeking the future in the depths of the ball or simply an admirer enjoying a brush with the exotic, Japanese crystal balls spoke to Americans across a surprising swathe of elite culture.

trustee.

- 9 George Frederick Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1913), 217.
- 10 Yuriko Kuchiki, “Hyō 7-1: Yamanaka nyū-yōku ten ga urinushi to natta kyōbai” [Chart 7-1: List of auctions organized by Yamanaka, New York], in *Hausu obu Yamanaka: Tōyō no shihō wo ōbei ni utta bijutsushō* [House of Yamanaka: Art dealer who sold Asian treasures to the West] (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 2011). In the 1910s, Yamanaka’s auctions sometimes listed “crystals” or “rock crystals” with other products made with precious stones.
- 11 Letter, “Okakura Unsorted Papers” file, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston archive. Hayashi was an agent for William Baumgarten & Co., an interior design firm in New York that seems to have worked for Ames. Ames apparently ordered a crystal ball through Baumgarten and not directly from Hayashi.
- 12 Charles E. L. Wingate, “Boston Letter,” *Critic* 20, no. 605 (Sept. 23, 1893): 199.
- 13 Copeland, “Of Camera Obscuras,” 88.
- 14 Kunz, *Curious Lore*, 217.
- 15 Examples include the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Philadelphia, and the Crow Collection, Dallas.
- 16 See Joe Earle, “Suzuki Chōkichi: Master of Metal Raptors” in this volume.

- 1 Herbert Copeland, “Of Camera Obscuras and Japanese Crystals,” *Knight Errant* 1, no. 3 (Oct. 1892): 88–92.
- 2 See Victoria Weston, “‘Wonderland of the World’: The Andersons and Japan” in this catalogue.
- 3 “The Quest: Being an Apology for the Existence of the Review Called the *Knight Errant*,” *Knight Errant* 1, no. 1 (Apr. 1892): 1. David Weier discusses the importance of Boston in this period in his *Decadent Culture in the United States: Art and Literature against the American Grain, 1890–1926* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 51.
- 4 Weier, *Decadent Culture*, 54.
- 5 Copeland, “Of Camera Obscuras,” 90.
- 6 Copeland, 91.
- 7 Said to be mined from “Otomezaka” of Yamanashi, according to Tokyo National Museum.
- 8 Morgan ultimately donated the collection to the American Museum of Natural History, New York where it became known as the Tiffany-Morgan Collection of Gems. The American Museum of Natural History was founded in 1869 and J. P. Morgan was a founding museum

“Proud Bird of Majesty”: The Story of the Boston College Eagle

Diana Larsen

ONE RAINY SUNDAY IN FEBRUARY 1975, ED CROAK PICKED up Jean Tolini at her parents’ home in West Roxbury. Instructed only to dress nicely, Tolini was curious. Croak drove her to Boston College, where they had been undergraduates together. On campus, he headed straight to Gasson Hall and to its iconic gilded eagle mounted high on a granite column. The rain thwarted Croak’s romantic plan to propose to Tolini beneath the eagle and on bended knee, so he settled for the shelter of his father’s blue Chevy to bring out the diamond ring. The couple graduated from Boston College in 1968, making them “Golden Eagles” in 2018, the term used for fifty-year alumni.

“Under the eagle” has long been a meeting place at Boston College. For arriving freshmen and departing graduates, it has been the place for photographs with family, the sculpture symbolizing the University (fig. 1). The Boston College student newspaper, the *Heights*, describes one graduation thus: “The next morning, we donned our caps and gowns and assembled for pictures at the golden eagle.”¹ Another article highlighted the eagle: “During the fall, Linden Lane is especially beautiful, with the ground littered with orange, brown, and red leaves. At the end is of course the statue with the golden eagle on top, a quintessential image for the University.”²

The eagle that has presided over so much on the Boston College campus is now the focal point of *Eaglemania: Collecting Japanese Art in Gilded Age America* (plates 85a–b). The eagle is a monumental Japanese bronze figure posed, wings lifted, on a craggy rock. The sculpture has had a storied career, beginning as a honeymoon purchase in Japan in 1897 and arriving at Boston College in 1954. At Boston College, the sculpture was gilded, making it the “golden eagle” so cherished by students and alumni. Now conserved to its original appearance, the eagle shows exceptional craftsmanship and expression. While it bears no signature, its style and form suggest the circle of master metals artist Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919), whose works once dominated Japan’s entries in the international expositions at the turn of the nineteenth century. This essay explores the great eagle’s history at Boston College, drawing on numerous stories to outline its deep integration into campus life.

THE EAGLE’S ARRIVAL AT BOSTON COLLEGE

The eagle sculpture arrived in the United States by boat from Yokohama, Japan in 1897. It was one of many treasures purchased by diplomat and collector Larz Anderson (1866–1937) and his bride, Isabel (1876–1948), on their honeymoon journey.³ The bronze eagle was the centerpiece of their Japanese garden at their estate, Weld, in Brookline.⁴

The garden with its eagle was the Andersons’ enduring souvenir of their Japanese honeymoon.

After Isabel’s death in 1948, the eagle came into the possession of the Andersons’ longtime employee and Isabel’s private secretary, Augustus (Gus) Anderson (no relation, 1900–62) (fig. 2). Gus Anderson had lived at Weld in his own cottage for over forty years, and he continued there as property overseer for the Town of Brookline, which became the estate’s new owner. The eagle remained on the estate until 1954, when the ravages of Hurricanes Carol and Edna showed him how vulnerable it was.

Larz Anderson respected the Jesuit fathers of Boston College (hereafter BC), as evidenced in one of his colorful journal entries. In February 1933, Anderson described the rehearsal of BC students—120 of them—who were performing one of his wife’s plays, “Dick Whittington” (fig. 3):

The Jesuit Fathers, especially Father Lynch and Father Gallagher (the head of Boston College), proved splendid men, remarkable men, big and manly and handsome in their priestly way, they carried on and dominated in so quiet and wonderful a manner that we hardly realized they were there....We learned to admire and respect these Jesuit Fathers, extraordinary men who play their part under discipline and with discipline.⁵

Isabel herself wrote to thank Father Lynch, and she particularly complimented the participating BC students for their dedication and demeanor.⁶

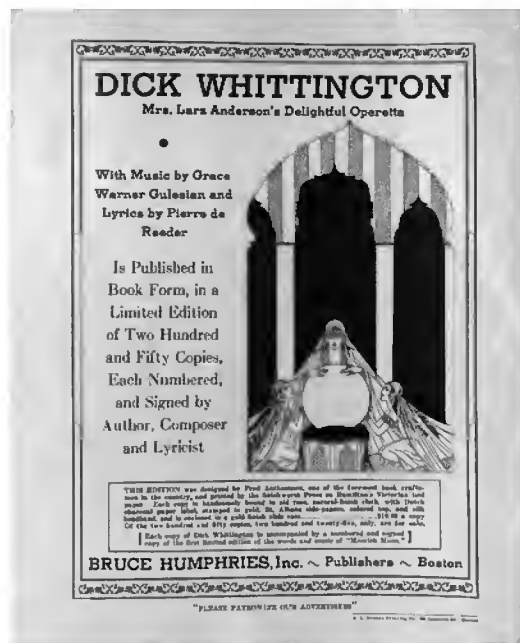
The eagle sculpture came to Boston College in 1954 thanks to Gus Anderson. Gus knew of the warm memories the BC production had left with the Andersons, and he himself



1. Boston College graduates below the eagle at Gasson Hall, May 15, 2014. Photo: Lee Pellegrini.



2. Gus Anderson, n.d. Photo: The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC.



3. Program for “Dick Whittington,” 1933. Philomatheia Club records, John J. Burns Library, Boston College, BC.1998.031.

was a devout Catholic. Father Herlihy, pastor of Boston College’s St. Ignatius Church, and Father Sullivan visited Gus at Weld and upon beholding the magnificent eagle, expressed to him their hope of having it for Boston College. That Gus was also a football fan, and the school’s team mascot was the eagle, added weight to their entreaty. Gus agreed, and Father Sullivan entrusted student Charles Murphy (class of 1955) with fetching it.⁷ He and his friend Frank Ford arrived at Weld in a pickup truck. They dismantled the eagle by removing its detachable wings and brought it back to campus wrapped in a blanket. According to family lore, as thanks for his gift Gus received a single football ticket, Holy Cross versus BC.⁸



4. The eagle in front of Alumni Hall. Stuart B. Meisenzahl, ed., *Centennial History of Boston College* (Chestnut Hill: Sub Turri, 1963), 129.

The bronze eagle was brought to Alumni Hall (fig. 4) for display, a poured concrete platform readied for it. The eagle’s circumstances changed in late 1955, however, when Boston College acquired South Station’s Dewey Monument (fig. 5). The 1899 monument commemorated Admiral George Dewey’s victories during the Spanish-American War and comprised a pink granite column topped by a spherical lantern. Midway up its height, Admiral Dewey was honored by four addorsed ships’ prows tipped with eagle heads facing the four directions. The 1950s portion of the Central Artery project eliminated Dewey Square and necessitated removal of the monument. South Station gave it to Boston

College, where the monument was re-purposed by cutting out the projecting circle of prows and eliminating the lantern. This section was moved to the campus’s Lyons Quadrangle as a stand-alone sculpture.⁹ The eagle, too, was modified for its new pedestal: its broad rock-like base had to be cut down to fit on top of the column (fig. 6).¹⁰ The granite column, installed in front of Gasson Hall, became the eagle’s spectacular base, and in the words of BC’s president, provided “the bird the eminence it needed.”¹¹ This is the familiar image we know today.

That the eagle sculpture immediately became a symbol of Boston College is reflected in its targeting for pranks. Charles Murphy, one of the students who brought the sculpture to campus, was charged with watching over the eagle since he was in residence at Alumni Hall. On the eve of a Boston College Eagles versus Boston University Terriers game, the eagle suffered its first assault. While Murphy slept following a few beers, Terriers came to campus and painted the eagle red. It fell to Murphy to immediately remove the paint. The decision to gild the eagle was likely made then, before positioning it on the column in front of Gasson Hall.

A 1961 photo of Newton police guarding the column testified to the threat of further mischief (fig. 7).¹² The eagle was vandalized again in 1962. This time, a delegation from Holy Cross scaled the monument and painted the eagle purple, the escapade leaving one of the culprits with an arm injury.¹³

THE SEARCH FOR A MASCOT

In Boston, the association of a golden eagle with the Irish goes back to at least 1873 and decorations for the St. Patrick’s Day parade:

On the building occupied by the Cunard Company heavy festoons of bunting were draped from the sidewalk to the roof, entwined about the American, Irish, and English colors, over which was affixed a very handsome golden eagle, holding in its beak the harp of Ireland.¹⁴

The association continued at Boston College, when Rev. Julian Johnstone published “Lines to an Eagle” in the *Stylus* of June 1898:



5. South Station’s Dewey Square, 1900. Nathaniel L. Stebbins photographic collection, Historic New England, PC047.02.6040.11057.

Boston
College
vs
Detroit
University
•
FENWAY PARK
•
October 14, 1955



PUBLISHED BY BOSTON COLLEGE ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

6. Boston College Athletic Association program cover with “cut” eagle, Oct. 14, 1955. John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

Onward, sail on, proud bird of Majesty!
High o’er the rolling storm cloud hold thy flight:
The tempest has no terror dread for thee,
That rollest on the storm in wild delight,
Exulting in thy liberty and might.¹⁵

When BC did settle on the eagle as mascot, this poem was credited as establishing the bird as a symbol of the college.¹⁶

Father Gasson, SJ, BC’s president from 1907 until 1914, oversaw the college’s move to the present Chestnut Hill campus, chose English Collegiate Gothic style for its buildings, and encouraged the great growth of the institution. Father Gasson also worked in Jesuit missions in the American West, and it was in this capacity that he made his own connection to the eagle.¹⁷ On one of their trips to Boston, the Sioux chiefs of South Dakota bestowed on Father Gasson the honorary title “Chief Brave Eagle,” most likely in gratitude for his service to them (fig. 8).

During the years 1905 to 1910, following many athletic successes, BC’s students realized the need for a mascot. A few suggestions were considered: first, the owl—soon rejected as being too studious—and then the antelope for its speed, which never took: “Somehow, the cheer, ‘For Antelopes!’ does not bring fear into the hearts of BC adversaries the same way as ‘Eagles on the warpath!’ does.”¹⁸ When BC won the 1920 Eastern intercollegiate track meet, a local newspaper cartoonist drew an alley cat, tagged “BC,” licking the intercollegiate plate clean.¹⁹ The image of a cat caused a protest and in the ensuing mascot discussions, Rev. J. McLaughlan (class of 1914) reintroduced



7. Newton police guarding the eagle, *Boston Herald Traveler*, 1961. Boston Public Library.



8. Father Gasson as “Chief Brave Eagle” with Sioux chiefs Eagle Hawk and Yellow Hair, 1914. *Alumni News* 18, no. 1 (Fall 1954): 8.

the eagle:

Why not the eagle, symbolic of majesty, power and freedom? Its natural habitat is the high places. Surely the Heights [a reference to the BC campus] is made to order for such a selection. Proud would the BC man feel to see the BC eagle snatching the trophy of victory from old opponents, their tattered banner clutched in his talons as he flies aloft.²⁰

The argument for the eagle gained momentum when in November, the school newspaper solicited cartoonists to weigh in. John T. Sullivan (class of 1924), a member of the art department staff, offered a drawing of a great eagle knocking a Holy Cross football player off the top of Gasson Hall by way of celebrating BC’s 14–0 victory (fig. 9).

In 1925, the matter was finally settled in favor of the eagle as BC’s mascot. The *Heights* opined:

Everything seems to favor its choice: the towers of the Heights with their appearance of rock-like solidity and their crag-like jutting into the sky might well be an eagle’s aerie. The high location of this college compared to others round about expresses the desire to be above his fellow creatures. That is the natural urge of the king of birds.²¹

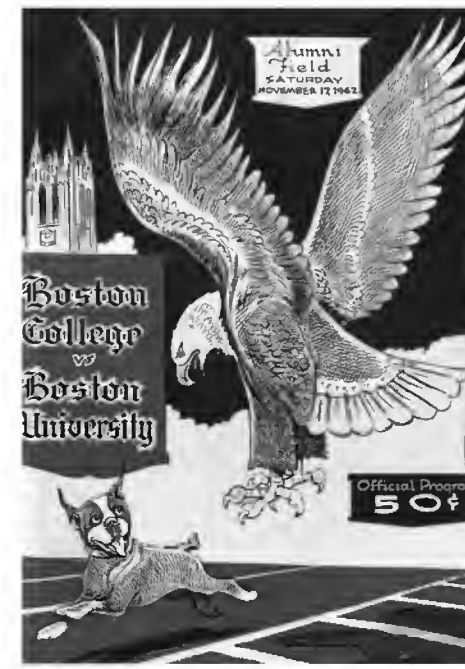
Following the acquisition of the Anderson eagle and its placement atop the Dewey column, BC’s football program covers from the late fifties and early sixties echo the 1920 cartoon’s imagery (fig. 10). The eagle swoops down to “devour” the various rival teams’ symbols, its upward wings echo those of the Anderson eagle.

THE LIVE MASCOTS

BC’s selection process for mascot, including the eagle as front runner, made for regional



9. John T. Sullivan, “Unblemished! 14–0,” *Heights* 2, no. 9 (Dec. 10, 1920): 1.



10. Boston College vs. Boston University football program cover, Nov. 17, 1962. John J. Burns Library, Boston College, BC.1984.024.

“Proud Bird of Majesty”: The Story of the Boston College Eagle



11. “Eagles All,” *The Sub Turri* (Chestnut Hill: Boston College, 1925), 242. John J. Burns Library, Boston College.



12. Margo at Alumni Stadium. Jack Falla, *Til the Echoes Ring Again: A Pictorial History of Boston College Sports* (Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1982), 35.

news. This publicity garnered the offer to BC of a live bird. The captain of a fishing schooner off Chatham, Massachusetts, had rescued a raptor during a gale—a hawk, as it turned out.²² It came to BC nonetheless and was housed in a cage at Gasson Hall. Once acclimated, the bird was periodically released for “short soarings.” Eventually, the call of the wild was so great, the hawk disappeared just before an important game with Marquette which, perhaps providentially, BC lost.²³

A second live bird, this time a true bald eagle, was sent to Boston College in 1924 by former professor Father John E. Reisacher, SJ, which had been captured on a ranch in New Mexico. Called Herpy, the bald eagle was named after Herpicide, a popular remedy for hair loss. Herpy was housed in a specially designed cage near the Science Building (now

Devlin Hall), where many on campus went to visit him.²⁴ The constant visitors proved distressing to the bird, who injured his beak trying to bite through his cage. The eagle was given relative peace by being moved to Franklin Park Zoo. Undaunted, Father Reisacher provided another mascot, this time a stuffed and mounted golden eagle with an eight-foot wingspan (fig. 11). This bird lasted almost forty years (1924–61) and was kept in the athletic association offices.²⁵

In 1960, a new live mascot, a two-month-old female golden eagle chick weighing ten pounds, came to BC from Colorado. Following a contest, she was named Margo after the college’s colors, maroon and gold (fig. 12). This bird had a more peaceful life, as she lived at Franklin Park Zoo and visited the campus for home football games and some away games. The full-grown Margo, with her seven-foot wingspan, was quite temperamental and was retired in 1965 when she several times broke loose from her tether and attacked harassing spectators and dogs. Margo died in the zoo in 1966 as a result of a virus.²⁶

After Margo’s demise, increased concern for animal welfare and regulations protecting the capture of endangered species ended any procurement of live mascots. In 1976, a marketing student from the business school rented an eagle suit and started a new tradition of costumed human eagle mascots (fig. 13),²⁷ which continues today with Baldwin as BC’s recognizable mascot.²⁸ The idea of a live mascot was floated again in 1981,²⁹ and from 2010 to 2013, a nine-year-old male eagle named Challenger came to campus for a few games. Strong protests from advocates at PETA ended this practice by lodging complaints with the US Fish and Wildlife Service: “The Eagle Act and the MBTA prohibit possessing, transporting, and disturbing eagles. Parading a bald eagle around a football stadium filled with a screaming crowd, a marching band, and amplified sound would clearly disturb these sensitive birds.”³⁰ Now, the athletics department works with Franklin Park Zoo and the World Bird Sanctuary in St. Louis to bring an eagle to campus once a year.³¹ This eagle appears outside the stadium during pregame activities and is part of a touring educational program on raptors.



13. Costumed eagle at homecoming parade, *The Sub Turri* (Chestnut Hill: Boston College, 1980), 12. John J. Burns Library, Boston College.



14. “Making the Mold,” *Boston College Chronicle* 1, no. 14 (Apr. 1, 1993): 1.



15. The Gasson column before, during, and after the eagle's removal. Nicolette Manahan, "BC's Golden Eagle Disappears: Kidnapping, Migration, Virgin?" *Heights* 74, no. 5 (Feb. 22, 1993): 17.

THE REPLACEMENT EAGLE

The golden eagle remained atop its granite column until the 1990s when extreme weather caused the sculpture to deteriorate and develop deep cracks. The piece was removed in 1993 and taken to Skylight Studios in Woburn, Massachusetts. Skylight is particularly known for its plaster casts, and there, a mold was made of the damaged sculpture (fig. 14).³² The bronze and gilded sculpture outside of Gasson Hall today is a Skylight Studios replica. At that time, the original eagle was deemed beyond conservation.³³ These events were recounted in a 1993 *Heights* article, which includes a poignant photograph of the column top, empty but for some scaffolding (fig. 15).

The original eagle spent the next twenty-two years in pieces on a high shelf in Skylight Studios. Attention returned to it in 2015, thanks to a Showa Boston instructor interested in Japanese public art in the city.³⁴ The eagle was crated in pieces and removed to BC's Newton warehouse. After two Japanese art experts viewed the eagle,³⁵ the McMullen Museum decided to conserve it, engaging Rika Smith McNally & Associates to remove the gilding and repatinate the bronze surface in accordance with period colors.³⁶ These efforts were well rewarded: the sculpture is a superb example of Meiji period (1868–1914) bronze art. Following *Eaglemania*, it will go on permanent display at the McMullen Museum for generations of students and faculty to appreciate, not only as a work of art, but also as a source of pride and institutional identity at the University.

POSTSCRIPT: TWO AREA EAGLES

There is one other well-known eagle on the BC campus that is often featured on football programs—a stone sculpture outside the Silvio O. Conte Forum, near its Beacon Street entrance. Dedicated by the class of 1939, this eagle was found in an East Boston scrapyard (fig. 16).³⁷ It had apparently formed the centerpiece to an elaborate fountain outside of St. Anthony's Church in Allston. This eagle, however, has not captured the imagination in the same way the great golden eagle in front of Gasson Hall does.

A close replica of BC's Meiji-period bronze eagle resides in Forest Hills Cemetery, Jamaica Plain. This is the memorial to Lieutenant Kitchell Snow (1899–1923), a young pilot whose plane crashed in the mudflats of East Boston in the summer of 1923.³⁸ His family chose the eagle as a fitting symbol of their relative's brief, adventurous life (fig. 17). The Snows were of similar social standing to Larz and Isabel Anderson; the close similarity of their memorial with the Anderson eagle suggests that they had seen the sculpture in



16. The class of 1939's stone eagle. Mulvoy, "Class of 1939 Silver Anniversary," 23.



17. Memorial sculpture dedicated to Lieutenant Kitchell Snow. Heath, "Snow Memorial."

the Andersons' Japanese garden. The Snow eagle differs from BC's in that the talons are free and not clutching a rocky perch and its eyes are made of glass or polished stone.

"Proud Bird of Majesty": The Story of the Boston College Eagle

- 1 Kim Bodson, "Something So Terrifying, We Dare Not Say Its Name," *Heights* 90, no. 24 (Apr. 27, 2009): B8.
- 2 Kris Robinson, "Ten Things to Be Thankful for on the Boston College Campus," *Heights* 92, no. 45 (Nov. 22, 2011): B7.
- 3 See Victoria Weston, "'Wonderland of the World': The Andersons and Japan," in this volume for the eagle's history with the couple.
- 4 See figure 13 in Weston, "'Wonderland of the World'" for a photograph.
- 5 Isabel Anderson, ed., *Larz Anderson: Letters and Journals of a Diplomat* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1940), 642.
- 6 Isabel Anderson's letter to Father Lynch (courtesy of Gerry Hayes, Gus Anderson's great nephew). The main text reads: "I am writing to express to you my sincere thanks for having taken on my play, 'Dick Whittington.' Your courtesy to me throughout the rehearsals has been much appreciated. Please convey to all the members of the cast my thanks for their hard work in constantly rehearsing. I never saw nicer girls and boys, and so interested to do their parts well."
- 7 Conversations with Charles Murphy. He contacted me after reading a *Boston College Magazine* article about the eagle; two subsequent conversations resulted in the summer and on October 1, 2018. Jane Whitehead, "Close-Up: Bird's Eye," *Boston College Magazine* 78, no. 1 (Winter 2018): 17.
- 8 Betty Anderson Riley, Gus Anderson's daughter, and Gerry Hayes; thanks are due to them both for valuable information and resources.
- 9 It remained in Lyons Quadrangle until 2015. See Janet Rutledge "What Is That Thing?," *Heights* 81, no. 20 (Oct. 31, 2000): 5.
- 10 Two athletic publications from 1955 show the sculpture with its cut down base, thus securing this date: Boston College Athletic Association, *Boston College vs. Detroit University, Fenway Park, October 14, 1955* (fig. 6) and Charley Harvey, ed., *Boston College Football Facts for the Press, Radio and TV, 1955*. John J. Burns Library, Boston College.
- 11 Letter, President's office, Boston College, Nov. 7, 1955, Joseph R. N. Maxwell, SJ to Mr. Edward Williams, president of the Boston Terminal Corp. South Station: "The eagle is mounted on its glorious monument....Meanwhile my sincerest thanks to you for the gift of the pedestal, without which I would not have even attempted to give the bird the eminence it needed. I am deeply grateful to you for this gift to the College." Thanks are due to Shelley Barber, reference and archives specialist at the John J. Burns Library, Boston College, for her invaluable help finding primary sources for this essay.

- 12 There were a few subsequent attempts to deface BC’s other important sculpted eagle outside the Silvio O. Conte Forum (mentioned at the end of this essay) with the insidious purple paint. Charlie Simmons, “Security Tight for HC,” *Heights* 59, no. 14 (Dec. 4, 1978): 22.
- 13 Jim Donovan, “Marble Monument Eagle Makes Mark on Vandals,” *Heights* 44, no. 7 (Oct. 26, 1962): 6.
- 14 *Pilot* 36, no. 13 (Mar. 29, 1873): 1.
- 15 Julian Johnstone, “Lines to an Eagle,” *Boston College Stylus* 12, no. 6 (June 1, 1898): 341.
- 16 “Eagle Finally Settled Upon as College Mascot,” *Heights* 6, no. 26 (Apr. 7, 1925): 4.
- 17 “Enjoyed Day in Crow Indian Mission: Rev. Thomas I. Gasson, SJ, and His Secretary Learned Much on Visit,” *Boston Daily Globe*, Feb. 27, 1910; “Indian Chiefs Will Start for South Dakota Home Tonight,” *Boston Daily Globe*, Oct. 26, 1913; “Fr. Gasson, SJ Assigned to Indian Mission Work in South Dakota,” *Boston Daily Globe*, June 7, 1914.
- 18 David Raymond and Kelly Gerson, “What Made the Eagle Soar: The Origins of BC’s Mascot,” *Heights* 87, no. 51 (Dec. 4, 2006): C3.
- 19 *Sunday Herald* (Boston), sporting section, May 9, 1920, 1.
- 20 “BC Mascot,” *Heights* 1, no. 21 (May 14, 1920): 2.
- 21 “Eagle Finally Settled Upon,” 4.
- 22 “Well, What’s My Name?,” *Heights* 5, no. 29 (Apr. 15, 1924): 2.
- 23 Bob Dinneen, “An Eagle Found a Home: Boston Pastor Was Annoyed at Stray Cat Symbol for BC,” *Heights* 29, no. 4 (Oct. 17, 1947): 2.
- 24 Dinneen, 2.
- 25 “New Mascot Adopted in Athletic Offices,” *Heights* 5, no. 28 (Apr. 8, 1924): 1; Bob Hart, “From Whence the Eagle Did Fly to the Heights,” *Heights* 40, no. 10 (Jan. 15, 1959): 7.
- 26 “A Remarkable Record!,” *Heights* 46, no. 2 (Oct. 1, 1965): 9.
- 27 Brian Murphy, “Featured Creature: Will the Real Mike Burness Please Stand Up,” *Heights* 57, no. 27 (Apr. 3, 1978): 17. Mike Burness was the student originating the costumed mascot.
- 28 For Baldwin, see “The Boston College Eagle: Origins and Development of the University Mascot,” Burns Library, Boston College (Summer 2005), <https://www.bc.edu/libraries/about/exhibits-new/burnsvirtual/eagle.html>.
- 29 John Greco, “Eagles to Land at Boston College” *Heights* 61, no. 34 (Oct. 5, 1981): 20; “Looking for Mr. (or Ms.) Eagle: A Three-Year Quest Takes Off at Last,” *Boston College Biweekly* 2, no. 4 (Oct. 15, 1981): 2.
- 30 Eleanor Hildebrandt, “PETA Objects to BC’s Use of Live Bald Eagle at Games” *Heights* 94, no. 31 (Sept. 26, 2013): A3, 1.
- 31 Thanks go to James DiLoreto, associate athletic director, who recounted this history to me; the eagle that currently visits BC annually is called Welles.
- 32 P. P. Caproni and Brother, Boston (1892–1927), producer of plaster casts for art schools, universities, and museums, had various owners until Robert Shure formed Skylight Studios in 1993.
- 33 Dominic Ingegneri, senior manager in the buildings and grounds department at BC said, “the eagle sculpture has several cracks due to water and freeze damage, and the original cast was of poor quality to begin with.” Ronnie Friedland, “Grounded Eagle to Be Replaced,” *Boston College Chronicle* 1, no. 13 (Mar. 18, 1993): 3. This statement followed the receipt of a letter from Robert Shure dated August 25, 1992 that questioned the structural integrity of the bronze (John J. Burns Library Archives, subject file “eagle”).
- 34 Showa Boston is a Japanese institute for teaching language and culture. Rus Gant, who taught there, visited the BC campus with his students to study the eagle. He submitted the initial assessment and history of the eagle to the president’s office.
- 35 One of whom was Victoria Weston, editor of the present volume and co-curator of *Eaglemania*.
- 36 See “Conserving a Meiji-Era Monumental Bronze Eagle” in this catalogue for an account of the process.
- 37 Mark Mulvoy, “Class of 1939 Silver Anniversary” [1963], 23. John J. Burns Library, Boston College, Boston College athletic programs, Box 10, BC.1997.006.
- 38 Richard Heath, “The Snow Memorial at Forest Hills Cemetery,” *Boston Globe*, Apr. 9, 1992, 1–2, 4.

Suzuki Chōkichi: Master of Metal Raptors

Joe Earle

SUZUKI CHŌKICHI (1848–1919) WAS ONE OF THE GREAT craft entrepreneurs of the early to mid-Meiji era. Over more than a quarter century, he played a leading role in promoting a global craze for Japanese bronze artifacts, at first under government patronage but latterly as an independent operator. He was also intimately involved almost from the outset of his career with the dissemination of raptor imagery, starting with impressive birds of prey that served as finials to elaborate, stylistically eclectic, virtuoso incense burners, then turning during the 1880s and early 1890s toward freestanding, minutely observed figures of eagles and hawks. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Suzuki might have become more active, over time, as a producer and art director, supervising the work of specialists in chiseled iron as well as cast bronze: after 1893 there are fewer recorded public commissions but in 1901 he could still boast that his metalware factory in Tokyo was “the largest in Japan,” very probably with more than enough capacity to carry out large-scale commissions for wealthy foreign visitors such as Larz and Isabel Anderson, who purchased the Boston College eagle (plates 85a–b) in 1897 (fig. 1).

We can never know whether or not the eagle was connected with him in any way, but one can reasonably claim that it would not have been commissioned or made were it not for his pioneering efforts in nurturing a Western taste for Japanese raptor sculpture in metal. Without passing comment on the eagle’s authorship, this article therefore presents an outline of the main events of Suzuki Chōkichi’s career and an account of his more ambitious achievements in the field of bronze casting, with particular reference to works featuring eagles and other birds of prey, before concluding with a consideration of the possibility that he might also have been involved in the production of work in materials other than bronze.¹



1. Basil Hall Chamberlain and W. B. Mason, *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan*, 6th rev. ed. (London: Murray, 1901), 43 (advertisements).

Suzuki Chōkichi was born on the fifteenth day of the eighth month of the first year of the Kaei era (1848) in Ishii village, Iruma district, Musashi Province (present-day Kawagoe City, Saitama Prefecture). Nothing definite is known regarding his family background, but it seems reasonable to speculate that he was of artisan stock, since he was apprenticed when he was about thirteen years old to Okano Tōryūsai (Kijurō) and spent the next five years in Edo (present-day Tokyo) mastering the art of bronze casting by the “lost-wax” method. He started his own business at the relatively young age of seventeen or eighteen and there are records of his early activity in central Edo at various locations in and around the Kyōbashi district; he was still based in nearby Tsukiji in 1901.² Although he apparently did not exhibit under his own name at the 1873 Vienna Weltausstellung (world exposition) where the Japanese exhibits, especially the metalwork, garnered widespread international acclaim, by the following year he had achieved enough of a reputation to be appointed, aged only twenty-five, as supervisor of the bronze casting division of Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha (the Pioneering Craft and Commerce Company). This was a public-private trading partnership set up after Japan’s successful participation in the Weltausstellung with the aim of capitalizing on the popularity of high-quality Japanese crafts and promoting them globally. It was at this point that Chōkichi assumed the art name of Kakō, which appears frequently on his work for the Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha, although in official documents he continues to be consistently listed as Suzuki Chōkichi.

From 1876 (when he was promoted to department head at the Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha) until 1904, Suzuki Chōkichi would exhibit successfully, winning many prizes, at all of the most important global expositions, including Philadelphia (1876), Amsterdam (1883), Chicago (1893), Paris (1900), St. Louis (1904), and more specialist events such as the Nuremberg Metalwork Exhibition (1885), as well as the second and third of the Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai (Domestic Industrial Promotion Exhibitions, 1881 and 1890) that the Japanese authorities organized in the intervals between the major international shows.³ At the Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition of 1876 he made his global debut, probably with four large pieces, all of them under the auspices of the Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha: a bronze incense burner surmounted by an almost life-size eagle with outspread wings that was purchased for the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art for £735 by the museum director, Thomas Croxen Archer, British representative at the Exhibition (fig. 2); a fountain head in the form of a flying dragon; another incense burner with a design of a flower basket; and a third incense burner (now in the Khalili Collection) with the episode of the medieval hero Yoshitsune and the warrior-monk Benkei at the Ataka Pass.

Suzuki
Chōkichi:
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Metal Raptors



2. Suzuki Chōkichi, *Incense Burner*, 1876. Cast bronze with details in gilt, silver, and *shakudō*, 70.9 x 37 in., © National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh, A.1877.4.



3. Beikoku Hakurankai Jimukyoku (Office for the Great American Exposition), *Reduced-Scale Design for a Cast-Bronze Incense Burner by Suzuki Chōkichi* (from *Onchi zuroku*), c. 1875. Ink and color on paper, 10.2 x 7.5 in., Tokyo National Museum, QA-3581_12.

In addition to written records of these works sent to Philadelphia and included in the official report published in 1877, designs for some of them appear in *Onchi zuroku*, a collection of more than 2,500 images compiled by the Japanese government for arts and crafts destined for display at the great domestic and international expositions of the later nineteenth century. It is not always easy to connect the complementary written and visual records, but it is clear enough that at this point Suzuki was heavily dependent on professionals to provide him with the imagery he needed for his bronzes; the individuals most involved were Nōtomi Kaijirō, a veteran of the Vienna exhibition and one of the leaders of the *Onchi zuroku* project, botanical and agricultural illustrator Nakajima Gyōzan, and Kishi Seppo, an artist whose surname suggests a link with the Kishi lineage of distinguished painters based in Kyoto (fig. 3).⁴ The absence of the Ataka incense burner from *Onchi zuroku* may be accounted for by the fact that this piece had been completed two years previously and Suzuki took its designs from two older sources: a page from an eighteenth-century picture book by Tachibana Morikuni and two illustrations from the long novel *Hakenden*, written by Takizawa Bakin between 1814 and 1841.⁵

The incense burner acquired by the Edinburgh Museum is especially interesting in the context of an exhibition on the theme of “eaglemania.” Kurokawa Hiroko has recently traced the trajectory of the eagle motif in official, export-oriented art of the early Meiji era, pointing out that the organizers of the Japanese sections at Vienna and Philadelphia might well have taken a hint from previous global expositions, starting with the Great Exhibition held in London in 1851, where the Great Powers showed off massive works in silver and gold that symbolized such themes as the progress of mankind and the nations and peoples of Great Britain. Responding to this precedent in a general way, several Japanese bronzes commissioned for the 1873 Vienna Weltausstellung featured dramatic stories from medieval classics such as *Heike monogatari* [The tales of the Taira clan]. Kurokawa

proposes that Suzuki’s Philadelphia incense burner was conceived more specifically as a version of the favored Meiji pictorial theme *Shin’i hakkō*, with the eagle and chrysanthemums on the lid standing for the emperor or more broadly for the Japanese nation, the eagle’s penetrating gaze symbolizing imperial, not to say imperialist, authority and control. A series of opposed predators and prey—eagle and birds, spider and flies, cat and mice—further underlined the incense burner’s message, even if it was not fully understood by American critics who tended to comment on the bronze’s “grotesque” combination of mythical dragons with everyday birds and beasts.⁶

At the 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle Suzuki won a gold medal for a still larger incense burner adorned with a close-to-life-size peacock, a peahen, and some smaller birds (the latter now lost), more than seven feet in height, which was purchased five years later by the South Kensington Museum (the present-day Victoria and Albert Museum) for the then enormous sum of £1,568 7s. 2d, more than twice as much as the Edinburgh incense burner. According to notes written by the prominent art dealer Tadamas Hayashi and held in the V&A’s archives, planning for this very ambitious work started straight after the conclusion of the Philadelphia Centennial and involved Wakai Kenzaburō, a founding director of Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha, and the painter-designers Yamamoto Kōitsu and Watanabe Seitei. The project even attracted the admiration of Ōkubo Toshimichi, one of the leaders of the Meiji Restoration, and plans were already afoot to make another version for the great man when he was assassinated on May 14, 1878, a turn of events that caused Suzuki great disappointment.⁷ Although he does not mention Suzuki by name, British critic and designer Christopher Dresser seems to have been another admirer of the incense burner. In his 1882 account of a trip to Japan in 1876 and 1877, Dresser mentions “a peacock sent to the last Paris International Exhibition” and describes it in terms that broadly accord with the appearance of the birds on the South Kensington incense burner:

Of life size [with] a drooping and unspread tail, but many of the feathers, and even barbs of the feathers, were distinctly rendered; while in many cases the barbs were separate the one from the other, and the individual feathers more or less distinct.⁸

Although its precise date and exhibition history cannot be determined, another even larger work from around the same period is a nine-foot-high incense burner now in the Khalili Collection, formed by three *oni* (demons) standing on a rock-like base and supporting on their heads a container that is, in turn, surmounted by a finial on which perches another dramatically posed eagle, similar to that atop the Edinburgh incense burner.⁹

From his earliest years as supervisor at Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha, Suzuki was involved in the production of many lesser pieces alongside his ambitious exhibition projects. These included vessels of the type called *usubata*, with wide, flat rims; their bodies feature low-relief pictorial decoration and their handles and bases are often elaborately modeled in the round in the form of dragons or pine branches, showing off the artist’s virtuoso casting technique. There are also highly finished smaller bronze vases, often made in collaboration with two brothers, Sugiura Yukimune (also known as Gyōsō and Takijirō) and Sugiura Yukinari (also known as Yukiya and Kiyotarō), who specialized in decoration using gold, silver, copper, and the Japanese copper-gold and copper-silver alloys known respectively as *shakudō* and *shibuichi*; examples are preserved in several private and public collections inside and outside Japan. Suzuki’s continuing involvement in smaller, even domestic-scale, items seems to have increased during his last years with Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha. These are listed in contemporary exhibition records but unlike the vases are rarely if ever encountered on the art market today. Examples selected for the second Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai in 1881 included a *danshiuro* (room heater) decorated with birds and maples by Masuda Kumazaburō, a specialist in the thriving art of cloisonné enameling; a table clock with the Three



4. Suzuki Chōkichi, *Eagle Mounted on a Stump*, 1885. Cast bronze with details in gilt, silver, and *shakudō*, wood, 55.1 x 49.2 in., George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, Springfield, 56.23.22.

Mystic Apes worked on by Suzuki, Sugiura Yukinari, and a *kazarishi* (decorator) named Katō Gisei; a flower vase in the unusual combination of cast bronze with lacquer decoration in the *maki-e* (sprinkled picture) technique by Kiyono Ōsai; and even a silver coffee set with autumn plants, again in collaboration with Sugiura Yukinari.¹⁰

Suzuki resigned from his role at Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha in 1882 (the company was finally wound up in 1891, due to loss of government support and failure to compete with more commercially agile private commissioners and dealers). We may speculate that the ambitious young artist had grown frustrated at having to spend so much time supervising the manufacture of minor commercial items and was keen to build on the personal reputation he had garnered with his exhibition bronzes and other public commissions, including bronze lanterns for Tokyo's Yasukuni Shrine (1880). Significantly, it was around 1881 that Suzuki started to develop further the skills and techniques he had already devised for the realistic depiction of birds' feathers (as chronicled by Dresser) and began to apply them to the production of large-scale bronzes of eagles. These would no longer merely be imposing finials to incense burners, as in the 1870s, but freestanding works of art perched imposingly on tree-stump stands that were either cast in bronze from life or made from allegedly ancient pieces of wood.

It was also in the early 1880s that Suzuki intensified his observation of live birds instead of relying entirely on designs prepared by professional painters. According to an official Japanese on-the-spot report from Germany, for his first eagle sculpture, shown at the 1885 Internationale Ausstellung von Arbeiten aus edlen Metallen und Legierungen in Nürnberg



5.1–2. Attrib. Yamamoto Kōitsu and Suzuki Chōkichi, *Sketches for a Bronze Eagle*, early 1880s. Ink and slight color on paper, 31.5 x 29.9 in. (top), 26.3 x 31.8 in. (bottom), Tokyo University of the Arts.

(Nuremberg International Exhibition of Works in Noble Metals and Alloys), Suzuki had acquired a real eagle from Hokkaido and kept it alive for four years, studying it night and day and making drawings from every angle before completing the bronze in February of that year (fig. 4).

A set of sixteen such drawings is preserved in the University Art Museum, Tokyo University of the Arts, one of them dated to September 1883. Some drawings in the set bear the signature of Yamamoto Kōitsu (previously involved in the designs for the South Kensington incense burner) but others, including the carefully corrected and annotated study of a wing reproduced here, are almost certainly from the hand of Suzuki himself (figs. 5.1–2). So impressed were the organizers of the Nuremberg exhibition with the eagle (which received a gold medal) that the director of the museum had it removed from the Japanese section and prominently displayed on the west side of the exhibition's central rotunda.¹¹ Suzuki's next major eagle was probably that shown by Wakai Kenzaburō at the third Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai in 1890; this is perhaps the same piece as was sent to the Chicago World's Columbian Exhibition in 1893 and then acquired by the Imperial Museum (now Tokyo National Museum); more recently it became the first example of Meiji-era applied art to be designated a Jūyō Bunkazai (Important Cultural Property) (fig. 6).¹²

Aside from the vases made in association with the Sugiura brothers and the smaller pieces shown at the second Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai, all the works discussed so far, both incense burners and freestanding eagle figures, are formed primarily from joined sections of cast and patinated bronze with some limited subsequent chiseling; the use of other metals or alloys is limited to details such as eyes, beaks, and claws. Suzuki Chōkichi is nowadays best known in Japan, however, for a set of twelve hawks, also for the 1893 exhibition (and since 1985 in the National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo), that were manufactured in a quite different way. The birds are almost entirely fashioned from gold, silver, and numerous versions of *shakudō* and *shibuichi*, with subtle variations of patina from feather to feather and much use of the chisel to model the individual components. A recent restoration project revealed that each hawk was made up of separate legs, head, body, and wings fixed to a central core using pins or rivets. Produced at the instigation and under the supervision of Tadamas Hayashi (by now active in both Paris and Tokyo) the



6. Suzuki Chōkichi, *Eagle*, c. 1893. Cast bronze with details in gilt, silver, and *shakudō*, 17.9 x 34.8 in., Tokyo National Museum, E-13034.

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STO-TYPE. NO. 8. SHUENTEE RED PATINA. ONE OF TWELVE JAPANESE FALCONS IN BRONZE MELTED CHASED AND COLORED. Made by CHOKITI SUZUKI. Exhibited by TADAMASA HAYASHI. AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893.

7. Tadamasa Hayashi, *Twelve Bronze Falcons Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Tokyo 1893), no. 8.

names—such as Namikawa Sōsuke and his unrelated namesake Namikawa Yasuyuki in cloisonné or Miyagawa Kōzan in porcelain—who were, like Suzuki, appointed to the order of *teishitsu gigeiin* (Artist-Craftsman to the Imperial Household, or Imperial Artist) in 1896.¹⁴

Following the triumphant success of his two Chicago pieces—the eagle and the set of twelve hawks—Suzuki's public, officially sanctioned career seems to have entered a slightly quieter phase. Documented or extant exhibition and museum works from this later period tend to be smaller in scale and include flower vases and an okimono (ornament, the same term as was used for the earlier eagles) of two tigers on a rock shown at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900 (now in Tokyo National Museum); a silver stand in the form of a dragon and waves, commissioned by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston to display a crystal sphere acquired from Japan a decade earlier; a small bronze group depicting the legendary wrestling bout between Kawazu Saburō and Matano Gorō (Khalili Collection); and another okimono of a bear and frog shown at the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition held in St. Louis in 1904. His latest identifiable work may be a bronze vase with a landscape design, executed in 1911 and donated by Suzuki to Tokyo National Museum the following year. While of imposing size (nearly five feet high), it is technically conservative, using the same type of low-relief cast decoration that he had deployed more than three decades earlier for the bodies of some of the incense burners he made with the Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha.¹⁵

A recently discovered reference suggests that alongside his work as a caster of bronze, Suzuki may have been involved in some capacity in the production of a different class of metalwork, namely articulated or semi-articulated iron models of animals. Originally invented by members of the Myōchin family, the most successful of the many dynasties

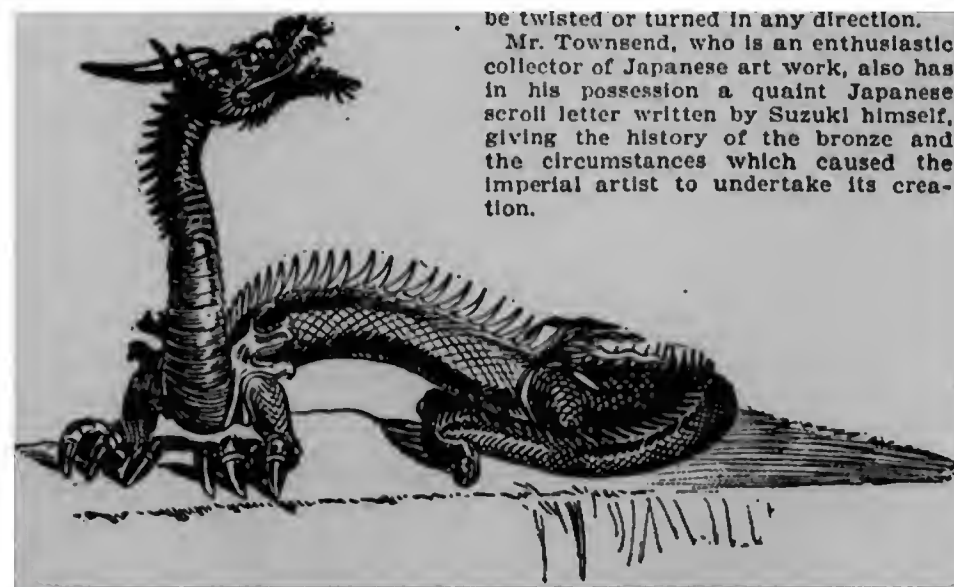
set was avowedly illusionistic in intent and was conceived as an evocation of the prestige of falconry in previous centuries when, as Hayashi's English-language pamphlet explains, the best sixty young falcons in all Japan were brought together and trained until just twelve were selected for the shōgun's personal use. Accordingly, the birds were equipped with all the traditional trappings of elite raptors, including elaborately knotted restraining cords, and lacquered perches with rich silk brocade cloths (the cloths and cords were subsequently lost, but have recently been replaced) (fig. 7).

No fewer than twenty-four specialists in a range of crafts were assembled to manufacture the set, making it probable that during the four years Suzuki was involved in the project his role was that of art director rather than practical metalworker, observing the movements of the live hawks that had been captured for use as reference materials, consulting historical documents, conducting field research with the professional falconer who was hired as part of the production team, and supervising the production and assembly process.¹³ This characterization of the later Suzuki as manager rather than maker is supported by everything we know of the working practices of other famous

of professional armorers that thrived during the Edo period (1615–1868), these ingenious and astonishingly lifelike flexible dragons, snakes, insects, crayfish, and other creatures had first been sold to samurai clients, but during the Meiji era their ingenuity and eerie realism made them popular among foreign buyers. The Japanese catalogue of a semi-official exhibition held in 1889 lists a “large *shinshuku* [extendable and contractable] iron dragon by Suzuki Chōkichi.”¹⁶ If that dragon was really fashioned from forged and hammered iron, a material in which Suzuki is not known to have worked directly, his role must surely have been that of producer rather than actual maker, but as we have already seen the same might be said of the 1893 falcons. When we start to think of Suzuki as more entrepreneur (and perhaps draftsman) than craftsman, especially at this advanced phase of his career, the 1889 catalogue reference lends some support to the disputed hypothesis that a large unsigned iron eagle in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (plate 84), which bears a strong overall resemblance to the Nuremberg bronze eagle, could have been a product of his workshop, if not literally of his hand.

Notwithstanding the different materials used to make the two eagles, a close examination shows that in both cases the makers were successful in achieving a highly realistic degree of separation between individual feathers (this feature is much more pronounced than in the case, for example, of the peacocks on the earlier South Kensington Museum bronze incense burner described by Dresser). The components of the Metropolitan Museum of Art iron eagle are not actually movable in the sense implied by the Japanese words *shinshuku*, used in the catalogue entry for the 1889 dragon, or *kushshin* (flexible and expandable) as seen frequently in other Japanese publications of this period, but digital X-radiographs carried out in 2013 by Donna Strahan and Sara Levin revealed that its feathers were individually made from thin pieces of iron and then riveted to an underlying iron skin.¹⁷ No similar scientific examination has been made of the Nuremberg eagle but it must be assumed that, as with other bronzes from Suzuki's workshop, the major components were, by contrast with the Metropolitan Museum of Art's iron eagle, cast as single pieces.

A letter of June 12, 1911 in the Metropolitan's archives from James R. Steers to Edward Robinson, director of the museum, states that the iron eagle “was made by a famous sculptor of Japan named Kato, was exhibited at the Chicago fair in 1893, and thence was taken back to Japan.” Since the records of the World's Columbian Exhibition are far from complete, the fact that no mention can be found elsewhere of an iron eagle by an



8. Suzuki's “flexible bronze dragon.” *Los Angeles Herald*, May 15, 1899.

artist called Kato or Katō being shown there does not of itself necessarily cast doubt on the truth of this story, but it is possible that Steers had conflated the common surname Katō with Suzuki Chōkichi's art name of Kakō. Another link to Suzuki is suggested by the fact that Steers, who purchased the eagle in 1903, identifies his informant at the time as the “Imperial artist at Tokio,” almost certainly a reference to Suzuki, since the only other metal artist designated *teishitsu gigein* (Imperial Artist) by that date was Unno Shōmin, the celebrated specialist in fine decoration executed chiefly in gold, silver, and copper alloys. This “Imperial artist” told Steers that an iron eagle was “a much more valuable and a finer work of art than a bronze piece could be.” Perhaps we can speculate that Suzuki, in the course of growing his business, had begun to employ specialists in forged and hammered ironwork and had come to appreciate, over time, that their techniques were even more effective than bronze casting in realistically conveying the appearance of avian feathers.

This speculation is both complicated and reinforced by a reference to an articulated dragon by Suzuki, this time supposedly made from bronze rather than iron, described in the *Los Angeles Herald* of May 15, 1899 as the most valuable and remarkable specimen of Suzuki's handiwork (fig. 8):

This work, which is a flexible bronze dragon eight feet in length, is worth a small fortune and was secured in Japan by Mr. William R. Townsend, a wealthy citizen of San Francisco.... Five years were occupied in the creation of this strange piece of work, and today it is the most valuable Japanese bronze in existence. The dragon is as flexible and pliant as a snake, and the limbs, body and head of the strange creature can be twisted or turned in any direction. Mr. Townsend...also has in his possession a quaint Japanese scroll letter written by Suzuki himself, giving the history of the bronze and the circumstances which caused the imperial artist to undertake its creation.¹⁸

Whether or not this dragon really was Suzuki's work or was in fact made from bronze and not iron (easily determined by the use of a magnet but also easily misidentified by non-specialists thanks to outstanding Japanese patinating skills), the *Los Angeles Herald* report gives us a valuable indication of his reputation in the United States around the time of the Andersons' purchase of the Boston College eagle; it is also interesting to see him once again exploiting his status as an “imperial artist.” A picture emerges, perhaps, of an entrepreneur “spreading his wings,” as it were, and promoting a range of goods that used advanced metalworking skills to create ever more illusionistic creatures, both imaginary and real.

- 1 The main events of Suzuki Chōkichi's career are usefully summarized in Yokomizo (now Kurokawa) Hiroko, “Suzuki Chōkichi ‘jūni no taka’” [*The Twelve Hawks* by Suzuki Chōkichi], *Kokka* 1328 (June 2006): 39–42.
- 2 See figure 1.
- 3 Although incomplete, the most useful compilations of written sources for Suzuki Chōkichi's principal exhibition activities are Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo (Tokyo National Research Institution of Cultural Properties), *Naikoku kangyō hakurankai bijutsuhin shuppin mokuroku* [Catalogues of objects exhibited at the Domestic Industrial Promotion Exhibitions] (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1996), nos. II-284–88, II-1703, and IIb-526 and Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Meiji-ki bankoku hakurankai bijutsuhin shuppin mokuroku* [Catalogues of objects exhibited at the International Expositions in the Meiji era] (Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1997), nos. F-500–501, F-507–10, G-119, H-108, L-27–29, M-148–49, M-179, M-181, O-1544–45, O-1549, O-1551, P-481, P-487, R-7, R-40, S-95, S-121, T-53, T-64, T-1487, and T-1502. This latter publication does not cover the 1883 Amsterdam International Colonial and Export Exhibition, but in 1886

the South Kensington Museum purchased a vase by Suzuki Chōkichi that had been exhibited at that event by Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha (Victoria and Albert Museum, 30-1886, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O17135/vase-kasson/#> and reproduced in Joe Earle, *The Toshiba Gallery: Japanese Art and Design*, exh. cat. [London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1986], cat. no. 196).

- 4 The *Onchi zuroku* drawings relating to works made by Suzuki for the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition are reproduced in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan (Tokyo National Museum), *Onchi zuroku chōsa kenkyū hōkokusho* [Report of research on *Onchi zuroku*] (Tokyo: Tokyo National Museum, 1997), 12-3–4, 12-8–11, 12-27–28, CD-ROM.
- 5 The Ataka incense burner is reproduced in Joe Earle, *Splendors of Imperial Japan: Arts of the Meiji Period from the Khalili Collection*, exh. cat. (London: Khalili Family Trust, 2002), cat. no. 1; its design sources are analyzed in detail in Joe Earle, “Japanese Bronzes of the Early Meiji Period (1868–1912): Meaning and Motivation,” *Apollo* 154, no. 477 (Nov. 2001): 36–41. A contemporary illustration of the same bronze can be found in the Yokohama magazine the *Far East: A Monthly Illustrated Journal* 6, no. 6 (Nov. 1874): 131, 135, where the accompanying article describes it being with a Tokyo dealer (likely the Kiryū Kōshō Kaisha) and states that it had taken three years to make and was valued at \$1,500. I am very grateful to Malcolm Fairley for this interesting early reference to Suzuki's work.
- 6 See Kurokawa Hiroko, “Yushutsumuke no kōgeihin no konseputo to zaigai sakuhin: Kinkō o chūshin ni” [The concept of export craft and works in foreign collections focused on metalwork], *Japonizumu Kenkyū* [Studies in Japonisme] 35 (Mar. 2016): 57–59; I am grateful to Dr. Kurokawa for providing a copy of this paper.
- 7 The South Kensington Museum incense burner (now Victoria and Albert Museum, 188-1883) is reproduced both in its original state in Paris in 1878 and as it is today with the smaller birds missing, in Tsuji Nobuo et al., eds., *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* 16: *Gekidōki no bijutsu; Bakumatsu kara Meiji jidai zenki* [Encyclopedia of Japanese art 16: Art in an age of turmoil; Late Edo to early Meiji], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Shōgakusan, 2013), cat. no. 128. The background to the bronze's production is summarized in Kurokawa, “Yushutsumuke no kōgeihin no konseputo,” 59.
- 8 Christopher Dresser, *Japan: Its Architecture, Art, and Art Manufactures* (London: Longmans, Green, 1882), 418–19.
- 9 The monumental Khalili incense burner is reproduced in Oliver Impey, Malcolm Fairley, and Victor Harris, *Meiji no Takara: Treasures of Imperial Japan; Metalwork Part 1* (London: Kibo Foundation, 1995), cat. no. 1 and was included in the major exhibition *Bronze* at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, September 15–December 9, 2012.
- 10 For examples of *usubata* and smaller collaborative bronze vases, see for example Earle, *Splendors of Imperial Japan*, cat. nos. 2 and 7–11 and for a pair of larger vases made circa 1877–82, see *Ancient Skills, New Worlds: Twenty Treasures of Japanese Metalwork from a Private Collection*, auc. cat. (New York: Bonhams, Sept. 12, 2018), lot no. 20. The smaller works shown in 1881 are listed in Tōkyō Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo, *Naikoku kangyō hakurankai bijutsuhin shuppin mokuroku*.
- 11 The Nuremberg eagle (now George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, 56.23.22) is listed in Japanese Imperial Commission, *Spezial-Katalog der Ausstellung Japanischer Metallindustrie, veranstaltet unter Leitung der Kaiserl. Japanischen Regierung* [Special catalogue of the exhibition of Japanese metalwork organized under the direction of the Japanese Imperial Government] (Nuremberg 1885), 17. For the background to its manufacture, see Yamamoto Gorō, *Kinkō Bankoku Hakurankai hōkokusho* [Report on the International Metalwork Exhibition] (Tokyo: Nōshōmushō [Ministry of Agriculture and Industry], 1887), 22, <http://www.dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/801769> and Tsuji et al., *Gekidōki no bijutsu*, cat. no. 129 (entry by Kurokawa Hiroko), where another of the eagle drawings is reproduced; see also Yokomizo, “Suzuki Chōkichi ‘jūni no taka,’” 41 and Yokomizo Hiroko et al., eds., *Kōgei no seiki: Meisaku 200yoten de tadoru Meiji no okimono kara gendai no āto made* [Kōgei: A view of a century of modern Japanese crafts], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2003), cat. no. 38.
- 12 For the Chicago eagle (now Tokyo National Museum), images are accessible at <http://bunka.nii.ac.jp/heritages/detail/188012>, see Yokomizo et al., *Kōgei*.
- 13 For *The Twelve Hawks*, see Yokomizo, “Suzuki Chōkichi ‘jūni no taka,’” and Tadamas Hayashi, *Twelve Bronze Falcons Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Tokyo 1893). The hawks, restored and with all their accouterments, were displayed at the National Museum of Modern Arts Crafts Gallery in early 2018, see *Kōgeikan kaikan 40shūnen kinen meikō no Meiji* [Master hands in the Meiji period: The Crafts Gallery's fortieth anniversary exhibition from the museum collection], http://www.momat.go.jp/cg/exhibition/meiko_2017/#section1-1 and

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Kitamura Hitomi, “Suzuki Chōkichi ‘jūni no taka’ to kindai kōgei no 150nen” [Suzuki Chōkichi’s *Twelve Hawks* and 150 Years of Modern Craft], *Me no me* 501 (June 2018): 46–51. I am grateful to Markus Sesko for drawing my attention to this recent article.

- 14 For these individuals, see Frederic T. Schneider, *The Art of Japanese Cloisonné Enamel: History, Techniques and Artists, 1600 to the Present* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2010), 146–47, 86–87, and 224, and Clare Pollard, *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842–1916) and His Workshop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).
- 15 For the tiger okimono, see Tokyo National Museum, E-20199, <https://webarchives.tnm.jp/imgsearch/show/C0077388>; see also Gomi Satoshi, “Tokushū 1900nen Pari Banpaku Hakurankai shuppin (5): Ikeda Taishin Shiki kusabana maki-e shodana to Suzuki Chōkichi Ganjō no tora okimono” [Special series on works shown at the 1900 Paris Exposition (5): Ikeda Taishin’s lacquered bookshelf with flowers of the four seasons and Suzuki Chōkichi’s tigers on rock ornament], *Sannomaru Shōzōkan Nenpō, Kiyō* [Annual report and summary of the Museum of the Imperial Collections] 18 (Mar. 2013): 55–64. For the silver stand, see Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 03.1880, figure 8 in Tomoko Nagakura’s “The Stuff of Dragon’s Breath: Collecting Japanese Crystal Balls in Victorian Boston” in this volume. The wrestler bronze is reproduced in Impey, Fairley, and Harris, *Meiji no Takara*, cat. no. 6. For the 1911 vase, see Kaname Kuniharu et al., eds., *Meiji Tennō to Meiji bijutsu no meihō: Meiji Tennō goseitan 150nen kinenten* [Emperor Meiji and masterpieces from his era: 150th anniversary exhibition of Emperor Meiji’s birth], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Meiji Jingū, 2002), cat. no. 30.
- 16 The iron dragon is listed in Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai (Japan Art Association), *Meiji 22nen Bijutsu Tenrankai shuppin mokuroku: Shinseihin: Dai 5gō* [Catalogue of exhibitions held in 1889, no. 5: New works] (Tokyo, Apr. 1889): 32, <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/849736/81>. This and the reference to the *Los Angeles Herald* (see note 18) are identified at <https://kotobuki-do.jimdo.com/articulatedirondragonbysuzukichokichi/>, to whose anonymous author grateful acknowledgment is hereby made (a related reference, to the *Japan Weekly Mail* of Oct. 21, 1893, could not be independently verified).
- 17 “Examination Report,” the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Sherman Fairchild Center for Objects Conservation, Feb. 18, 2013.
- 18 “A Marvel in Metal Working,” *Los Angeles Herald*, May 15, 1899, <https://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc?a=d&d=LAH18990515.2.20>.

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Conserving a Meiji-Era Monumental Bronze Eagle

Rika Smith, Regina Gaudette, Karen Wolff, Robert Shure, and George Stratakis

OUR INITIAL VISIT IN EARLY SPRING 2017 TO A BOSTON College storage facility to examine the McMullen Museum's Meiji-era eagle (plates 85a–b) revealed only fragmentary information: the sculpture was stored in five separate parts in boxes on a top shelf. As it could not be taken down, we went up to it in a lift. We were only able to view the top few inches of each part, which were obviously very dirty, and had multiple layers of painted undercoats in white, orange, and yellow. There were also thick layers of gilding, with numerous losses and surface cracks throughout. Thanks to another conservator's earlier report,¹ we were able to determine the general appearance and condition, so we decided to take the project on, knowing that we would have time to perform research and determine the best treatment. What we did not know was what an extraordinary opportunity it would be to uncover and conserve such an exceptional work of art.

EXAMINATION AND ANALYSIS

A professional art moving company delivered the eagle to the conservation studio of Rika Smith McNally & Associates in Natick, Massachusetts in July 2017 (fig. 1), allowing us to see for the first time the entire sculpture. We examined the eagle under different types of light, including natural light, raking light, long-wave ultraviolet light, and under magnification from a binocular microscope. These examinations confirmed the eagle had multiple thickly applied layers of paint (as many as six) and two separate layers of gold leaf (fig. 2). There were losses to the bronze in a number of areas due to the grinding down of the backside of the base from previous attempts at restoration. There were open unstable cracks in both wings, likely from ice damage as a result of being exposed to severe New England weather conditions. After a thorough materials review and research on Meiji-era bronzes, we submitted a very small bronze sample to the Scientific Research Laboratory at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.² The resulting analysis indicated that the sample from the sculpture contained:

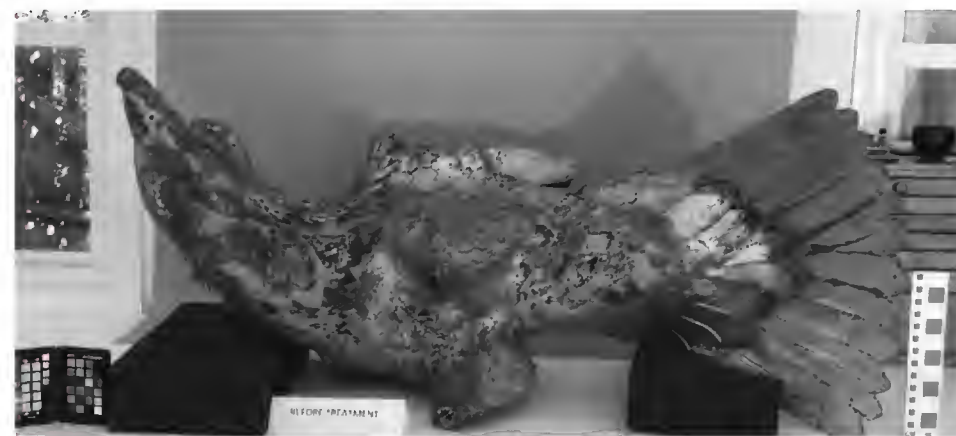
Copper	78%
Lead	10%
Zinc	10%
Tin	2%

This lead content is typical of a Meiji-era bronze (usually found in the 5–15% range)

identified as *karakane*.³ The added lead makes this alloy slightly softer than other bronzes, allowing for very delicate chasing after casting. Consultations with the exhibition curators and visiting scholars provided visual expectations for what we would find under the heavy layers of paint and gold leaf. We also spoke with colleagues in Kansas City who had worked on a similar Meiji-era eagle sculpture in 1995 and had published their results.⁴ Finally, we carefully examined a similar sculpture at the George Walter Vincent Smith Museum in Springfield, Massachusetts. This Meiji-era eagle was in excellent condition and provided a great deal of information on chasing techniques, differently colored areas, and fabrication of the eagle's eyes.

PAINT AND GILDING REMOVAL

We began the process of removing the layers of paint and gold, which had been applied to the eagle over several decades while on the campus of Boston College. Solvent testing indicated that the gold and paint layers could not be removed with alcohols or acetone, and that a solvent gel with some dwell time was required to soften the previous paint layers. We were then able to lift the softened layers with brushes and small wooden tools. As we painstakingly removed the accumulated thick layers we discovered precise chasing lines delineating the exquisite carving in the underlying bronze. Removing the paint and



1. The eagle body during conservation assessment, showing previous complete regilding. Photo: Rika Smith.



2. The eagle's head and eye before treatment, proper right side. Photo: Rika Smith.



3. During the removal of modern orange paint and gilding, fine chasing lines and *shakudō* became visible. Photo: Rika Smith.



4. The proper left side of the eagle's head, revealing gold around the pupil after paint and gilding removal. Photo: Rika Smith.



5. The eagle after patina repair and protective wax coating application. Photo: Rika Smith.

gilding on the eagle's beak revealed that the patina below was black, a different color than the rest of the head. As paint and gilding were removed from the eagle's eyes, we uncovered the *shakudō* technique: a raised copper alloy pupil, colored black, very smooth in appearance, adhered to the center of the eye (fig. 3). Hachiro Oguchi describes this as a copper alloy containing a small amount of gold that can be chemically blackened (the Japanese translation of *shakudō* is "black gold").⁵ Because the patinating technique is thought to have occurred when boiling the bronze in a chemical solution, it is likely that the eagle's pupil was fabricated and colored separately, and then attached as a separate lens. Surrounding the pupil were the remnants of gold, used to highlight the area (fig. 4). The chased parallel wavy lines were even more finely made, giving the eagle an expression of intense animation.

MISSING AREAS

Uncovering the sculpture's surface revealed that some of the original bronze was missing. There were large areas of loss in the base, most of which had been filled with a previous epoxy or fiberglass fill. The base and the interior of the eagle also contained areas of epoxy and plaster fill, evidence of fairly recent repairs. Additionally, the eagle had been abruptly cut at the middle of the legs, separating the body from the base. The back of the base had been ground down to bare metal, removing the leaves and tendrils to create a flat, smooth area. And finally, the bottom third of the base had also been cut off, most likely removing the artist's signature.

A NEW PEDESTAL AND WING ATTACHMENT

The McMullen Museum commissioned Robert Shure, owner of Skylight Studios in Woburn, Massachusetts, to design and fabricate an internal metal armature so the component parts of the eagle could be mechanically reassembled and then mounted on a wood pedestal. George Stratakis, who is an expert technician at Skylight, led this effort. The studio also determined a method to mechanically attach the wings to the body similar to the technique used by the artist. This allows the wings to be removed for transport.

REVERSIBLE REPATINATION

The conservators finally began the last steps of the treatment: applying a transparent patina with reversible conservation colors, followed by a protective coating. The Springfield eagle again served as a model, and a palette of reversible colors, guided by the uncovered bronze, was created to visually integrate the surface to the appropriate variation of tone, with the patina following the sculptural form (fig. 5). The conservation team spent over eighty hours gently perfecting the patina. The eagle's eyes required an application of gold

around the dark pupils to approximate the original appearance, with care taken to not let the eyes look freshly regilded. Twenty-four karat shell gold, a reversible material, was applied to successfully recreate the correct effect. Conservators completed the repatination treatment in early September 2018 while the sculpture was at Skylight Studios being reassembled (fig. 6).



6. The eagle's wings being attached to the body at Skylight Studios, supervised by Robert Shure and George Stratakis. Photo: Haley Carey.

AFTER TREATMENT

Careful research and evaluation of the historical context combined with contemporary art conservation techniques and ethics have resulted in a dramatic transformation of this Meiji-era eagle sculpture back to its nineteenth-century splendor. The conservation treatment has preserved the original material, stabilized the structure, and presents the eagle as closely as possible to what we envision the artist intended. The McMullen Museum will provide a perfect space for the eagle to be on permanent exhibition. The conservators thank the McMullen Museum for the opportunity to work on this remarkable sculpture.

- 1 The authors thank Mimi Leveque, conservator at Archaea Technica, for her 2015 report.
- 2 The authors thank Richard Newman and Michele Derrick of the Scientific Research Laboratory at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston for carrying out scanning electron microscopy energy-dispersive x-ray spectroscopy on the sample provided.
- 3 Malcolm Fairley, *Masterpieces of Meiji Metalwork: An Exhibition of Important Japanese Metalwork of the Meiji Period*, exh. cat. (London: Barry Davies Oriental Art, 1991).
- 4 Marianne Russell-Marti and Robert F. Marti, "Structural Treatment of a Monumental Japanese Bronze Eagle from the Meiji Period," *Objects Specialty Group Postprints* 3 (1995): 39–63.
- 5 Hachiro Oguchi, "Japanese Shakudo: Its History, Properties and Production from Gold-Containing Alloys," *Gold Bulletin* 16, no. 4 (1983): 125–32.

Conserving
a Meiji-Era
Monumental
Bronze Eagle

The Sorting Hat: Identity and Meaning in Japanese Depictions of Raptors

Victoria Weston

WHAT DOES AN EAGLE LOOK LIKE IN JAPANESE ART? For all that this art adheres closely to forms modeled by nature, raptors are confounding. Two basic words in Japanese—*taka* 鷹 and *washi* 鷲—name three distinctly different birds. *Washi* entered the lexicon by way of Chinese usage. Augmenting the difficulties is how these names are rendered in English, nomenclature established in the Meiji period (1868–1912) when Japanese artists began to cater to foreign as well as domestic patronage. English freely applies “eagle,” “hawk,” and “falcon” with little precision to the bird actually depicted. A *washi* is an eagle in the common understanding of the word. A *taka* is a hawk in the common understanding of the word. Squarely in the middle stands the *kumataka*, or “bear hawk,” which in English is a “hawk eagle.” Hawks have a storied history in Japan, their depiction common from the medieval era. Falcons were too long of wing to be useful in sport and seem to be largely ignored. Eagles appeared rarely in Japanese art until the Meiji period, when Japan’s new international relations brought this raptor into focus as a symbol for nationhood. And, *kumataka* appear occasionally throughout. The problem of identification is worthy of Hogwarts’ Sorting Hat from the Harry Potter series of novels.

Eaglemania: Collecting Japanese Art in Gilded Age America brings together Japanese raptors in multiple mediums to contextualize Boston College’s exceptional Japanese bronze eagle (plates 85a–b). This eagle served the school as mascot for decades until its condition so degraded that it was replicated and retired. Now conserved to its full glory, situating it in Japanese art history highlights how fraught identifying raptors truly is. Using primarily objects from the exhibition, this paper looks at identity and meaning in raptor depictions in the Edo (1615–1868) and Meiji periods where the topic both flourished and changed. Boston College’s majestic Japanese bronze eagle is both a product of its times and a member of a compositional type with roots going back to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) in China.

DEPICTIONS OF HAWKS AND EAGLES IN THE EDO PERIOD

Eagles are a rarity in Japan. Only golden eagles (*Aquila chrysaetos*) live there, but their habitat is at high mountain altitudes, and they are rarely seen.¹ Steller’s sea eagles (*Haliaeetus pelagicus*) visit Hokkaido’s shores, but prior to Hokkaido’s late nineteenth-century integration into Japan’s mainstream culture, sea eagles were essentially an idea rather than a reality. Japanese culture understood eagles first through Chinese painting styles and topics transferred to Japan in the Muromachi period (1333–1575).

In China, eagles and hawks were termed *ying*, and, according to Hou-mei Sung, the two

birds were not distinguished individually.² Functionally, the word suggests the meaning in English of “raptor,” and Chinese paintings suggest that falcons, too, were members of this group. Sung notes that depictions of *ying* are ancient; by the Northern Qi dynasty (550–77), history already recorded a master of *ying* painting. In their finery, peacocks could symbolize the emperor, but the *ying* expressed multiple ideas: the lofty and noble, martial spirit, and the sovereign or hero. In China, *ying* were shown either wild or domesticated, though no extant image corresponding to an eagle is ever shown tamed. In the examples explored by Sung, the *ying* is short beaked, tip curved downward, which is most characteristic of hawks.

The *ying* subject category entered the Japanese repertoire with its flexibility intact. Japanese warriors imported Chinese raptor paintings during the Muromachi period as part of a larger enthusiasm for Chinese culture. Japanese painters developed their own Chinese-style ink painting to cater to these patrons, producing hawk paintings that answered to warriors’ passion for sport hawking. Following Chinese precedent, Japanese painters depicted these raptors in two forms, wild and domesticated. The category became firmly associated with ink painters Soga Chokuan (active c. 1596–1610) and his son Nichokuan (active c. 1620–60), who painted them often.³

The Chinese character for *ying*, 鷹, is used in Japanese for the word *taka*, or “hawk.” *Taka* could be used as a generalization like *ying*, but its primary sense was “hawk.” The *taka* category had two significant members native to Japan, the *otaka*, “goshawk” in English (*Accipiter gentilis fujiiyamae*) and the *kumataka*, “Hodgson’s hawk eagle” in English (*Nisaetus nipalensis*). When Chinese paintings of *ying* came to Japan showing for the most part birds of medium size, smooth headed and slim beaked, point curved down, they corresponded to goshawk form. Japanese elites prized goshawks as noble birds, and they could be trained to high levels of hunting skill. Goshawks hunted other birds, so their attacks were easily viewed in aerial display. In contrast, *kumataka* were larger, slower, less tractable, but more powerful. These birds fed on small mammals and reptiles, so their final assaults occurred on the ground and out of view. Samurai cared little for *kumataka* and did not collect them as they did goshawks.

Soga Chokuan and his son Nichokuan followed Chinese precedent and painted raptors in the wild and as tethered hunters. Because they had the flexibility of the Chinese *ying* category and Japanese reality, Soga painters had three possible birds to depict: *otaka*, *kumataka*, and golden eagles. Soga Nichokuan’s paired screens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, offer a natural setting and the complementary pairing of the two wilder and larger birds, the golden eagle and the *kumataka* (plates 5–6).⁴ The eagle occupies the right-hand

screen, perched on a rock; the *kumataka* on the left sits on a pine branch. Soga Nichokuan's style here is Chinese: strong ink lines, texture strokes, crab-claw tree roots, and one-corner compositions that use atmospheric perspective to describe deep distance.

Nichokuan draws significant distinctions in the habitats of the *kumataka* versus the eagle, ones that follow nature. His *kumataka* is recognizable by its distinctive cap of feathers at the top of its head. The bird occupies its natural habitat of woodland, indicated by the spreading pine tree. The tree is old, its trunk and branches taking interesting form, crab-claw roots gripping rocks. These rocks descend to a gentle river, its breadth shaped by shoals described in ink wash. A few seasonal flowers accent the composition, and a faint mountain peak gives meaning to the deep distance. While not a cultivated landscape, the setting is gentled by its mellow and poetic beauty.

Nichokuan's answering screen is the opposite: wild and inhospitable. Japan's golden eagles live in mountains at high altitude and they do not migrate, making them quite rare to Japanese experience. The bird's form, though, generally follows that of the golden eagle, with its broad beak, nostril form, and beak tip curved downward. The landscape Nichokuan provides it emphasizes the remoteness of its habitat. The foreground rocks are sharp forms described with graphic Chinese-style "ax-cut" strokes; set on a diagonal, the rocks seem to erupt out of the earth. Water cascades in ribbons, the energy of impact described in great fingers of spraying water. There are no flowers. These raptors live in harsh landscapes far from human domestication.

Hawks were much more common in experience and in art. Hawks and hawking were attributes of social status, regulated by the Tokugawa after they triumphed in the wars reunifying Japan in the early seventeenth century. Only samurai could own and train hawks. Even members of Kyoto's hereditary nobility were forbidden hawking. The reasons were twofold: hunting was a martial sport unsuited to anyone outside the samurai estate, and hawking provided cover for surveillance of potential rivals.⁵ Tokugawa shoguns and the daimyo lords of the many domains were avid collectors and the culture of hawking was a subject of samurai education. A very fine album of hawk paintings by Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713) is such an example, combining beautiful images with instruction in the art of hawking (plates 37–46).

The Kano were a family-based guild of painters who catered to samurai. Kano Tsunenobu was based in the shogunal capital of Edo (modern Tokyo) and led the Kano system. The ten leaves of his sumptuous *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy* pair hawk paintings with accompanying text pages. As discussed below, hawks have seasonal associations, primarily with winter, but this collection carefully sets the birds into scenery from across the year, underscoring the universal principles contained in the album. Six hawks sit on branches; three stand on rocks. Most of these hawks survey their surroundings, though several preen. One hawk is unique in having no landscape setting and this is also the only one attacking prey.

By the time Tsunenobu was painting, the Kano guild was spread across many teaching studios that ranked from the highest, run by Kano leadership, to middle-ranked and below. Elite Kano painters made study from nature part of their practice, but as a system and a brand, the Kano needed to maintain consistency and quality. They achieved this with *funpon*, or model images, which students copied during their training and retained as practicing artists.⁶ This album reflects Tsunenobu's training in *funpon*: Tsunenobu's birds are more conventional forms than they are breathing members of nature. Leaf c (plate 39), for example, shows the wings of the hawk as perfectly regular shapes that broadly echo the petals of the lotus blooming alongside it. All is even line and graceful curve. Its plumage has a graphic quality, dark tips on white for the chest feathers, white lines differentiating individual feathers on its dark back. Leaf e (plate 41) features a dynamic bird of strong planes. It cranes its head left, its wings following as pointed forms turned parallel to the picture plane, the forward wing an intense horizontal that contrasts with the

perfect vertical of its fanned tail feathers. A similar dynamism informs leaf d (plate 40), the only one without contextualizing setting. This is the hunting hawk: it tears at its captive prey, a smaller bird, its feathers flying. Here, too, the body sections have strong individual silhouettes—wings, tail, and back—their forms essentialized within a unifying geometry. Only leaf f (plate 42) significantly deviates from this formula. This bird is plumed fully in white, the rarest of hawk types and highly prized. Color contrast is minimal, and the bird's shoulders lift distinctly beyond its body in answer to the drop of the head, which adds weight to the intensity of its golden gaze.

Large-scale hawk paintings flourished in the Edo period, in both ink and in vibrant colors. In this period, high-status *shoin*-style architecture matured, which included spacious, formal reception areas suited to displaying pairs of six-panel folding screens. Appropriate style for reception rooms was opulent, using cut gold foil and opaque mineral pigments on fixed walls, sliding wall panels (*fusuma*), and ceilings. Folding screens elaborated such spaces as well as acted as room dividers or frames. An unsigned pair picturing a hawk cage as well as other estate birds is a fine example of the richness saturated mineral pigments could achieve in concert with gold foil background (plates 35–36). The pair offers two scenes: the right-hand screen presents a free-ranging chicken family alongside a stream and a large cage filled with an assortment of songbirds and exotics; the left-hand screen shows a caged habitat for hawks and fledglings.

The two screens contrast based on the use of the birds. The first screen has decorative qualities consonant with leisure in a garden. Urban estates required gardens with running water, as seen here in the stream bounded by rocks. It is spring: the cherry tree to the left is in full bloom, supported by pink flowering azalea and yellow flowering kerria. A chicken family wanders freely in the garden. The adults are valuable specimens, one richly colored, the other fully white, and their chicks are sweet, fluffy creatures. Caged songbirds add to the attractions of the garden and the more exotic birds are beautiful accessories.

In contrast, the left-hand screen is a male domain. The viewer is given privileged access to a large hawk enclosure. This cage is a habitat with a long perch, a constructed nest for fledglings, and a water bowl. Most hawks were collected in the wild as young adults or new hatchlings,⁷ thus the need for the estate owner to construct a nest, here made of sticks supported on a wooden tripod. Hawks were trained for particular prey, and those taken as hatchlings could be trained to attack prey that instinct warned were dangerous.⁸ This space is outdoors, but not garden-like because there is neither stream nor flowers. The plants are instead symbolic of male virtues: an oak, seen here to the right, is associated with hawks, the two of them appreciated for their strength. Bamboo, symbol of fortitude, grows to the left.

Folding screens of tethered hawks go back to the Soga ink painters, who treated each screen panel like a hanging scroll to form a gallery of individual hawks.⁹ This formula proved amenable to depiction in color against gold foil since these screen compositions inherently isolated the primary subject—the bird and its perch—against a blank background. In one pair of screens (plates 13–14), the painter uses gold, black, and white with accents of red and blue to dynamic effect. The composition has a strong graphic quality and evinces no real interest in studied bird form. The topic originates in samurai culture, but the execution reflects the bold gorgeousness of urban culture.¹⁰

Unlike a study of nature, these birds are plumed in combinations of full black and pristine white. The white pigment (*gofun*) derives from crushed shell, so the color is mildly opalescent. All of the birds sit on cinnabar red perches, ornamented with silk cord, a chain tether attached to a projecting anchor, and a fabric drape, which assists the birds in righting themselves when they lose their seat through vigorous flapping.¹¹ The drapes are primarily iterations of ink ranging from light gray to greenish, to dark, with only two drapes in red. The silk cords are generally red, with a couple in white and blue and all of them elaborately tied. The stands align in height, with variety achieved through the degree



1. Kitagawa Utamaro I (early 1750s–1806), *Three Lucky New Year Dreams: Fuji, Falcon, Eggplant*, c. 1798. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 18.1 x 19.4 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, 11.14482–3.

to which adjacent stands conform or deviate from a continuous horizontal. The limited color palette reinforces order across the twelve panels. Overall, there is a strong sense of pattern and design.

Through color distribution and bird activities, the two screens coordinate and flow in a reading from right to left. The right-hand screen begins with an individual in all white save for the eye, which is masked in black. The angle of his head points the viewer to the left and into the composition. The next five birds are feathered white at the belly, black in their outer cloaking, the unmodulated black given definition with white outline. Two hawks chatter over their neighbors, one of whom preens, fanning its white tail feathers, the other playing with its silk cording. The last hawk of the right screen preens, a kind of resting point before moving on to the left screen. The cord colors support the pace: red, white, red, white, and then ebb in repeated soft blues.

The left-hand screen offers more drama. The first hawk turns left and “speaks,” beak well open and body tensed, its attitude seconded by its immediate neighbor, who looks leftward too. The farther three birds all are turned in response. Only one bird on the screen ignores the face-off, preening its claws instead. The sharp turn of the first and last birds bracket the composition, a job performed for the paired screens by the placement of the only two fully white hawks, their heads turned into the depicted space. The ending is strongly punctuated: white hawk, red drape, blue cord.

Hawks and eagles also appear in Tokugawa popular culture. The word *taka* means “hawk” with one Chinese character, 鷹, but with another, 高, it is the common word for “tall,” which by extension includes the meanings “exalted” and “expensive.”¹² Hawks entered the vocabulary of New Year’s imagery as symbols of wealth in this expanded meaning. Popular imagery moved across mediums, in woodblock prints, fabrics, and *sage-mono*, the small containers used by men that hung from the obi and held personal items. Woodblock prints offer a variety of approaches to the hawk theme. The imagery for the “three lucky dreams of the New Year,” brings hawks together with Mount Fuji, homonym

for the word “resplendent,” and eggplant, symbolizing wealth and plenty. Utamaro’s paired New Year’s print is a prime example: beautiful women fill the foreground, two of them peasants bearing baskets of eggplant. The only male, a boy, holds the hawk, and Fuji rises to fill the distance (fig. 1). This imagery carries into small personal objects as well, as in a netsuke where two of the three elements are three-dimensionally carved, the hawk sitting pertly on an eggplant base (plate 18).

Woodblock prints offer many examples of hawks in pine trees. Japanese custom matched household displays such as paintings and flowers with season; woodblock prints allowed the less affluent to follow higher-class manners.¹³ The pine tree is reckoned one of the “three friends of winter,” pine, plum, and bamboo, with each “tree” symbolizing fortitude in the adversity of harsh weather. Hawking was associated with winter, when the larger hawking events occurred.¹⁴ Together, hawks and pines marked the winter season while also symbolizing plenitude and strength. Some prints, as in this one by Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858), include the full orb of the sun, which adds the sense of renewal in the new year and introduces the celebratory color of red into the picture (fig. 2). A print of this type by Utagawa Yoshitora (active 1850–80) shows its continuation into the mid-nineteenth century, after the arrival of Commodore Perry in Japan in 1853 (fig. 3). Like the album by Kano Tsunenobu, Yoshitora creates strong angles through the bird’s body and graphic feather patterns in a powerful display of an auspicious hawk. In addition to woodblock prints, souvenir paintings from Ōtsu, a post town along one of Japan’s primary roadways, took up seasonal and auspicious subjects, including the hawk in pine (plate 16). And, this seasonal imagery appears on intro (small, tiered boxes hung from the obi), as in one example where a hawk is depicted perched in a pine and again in the accompanying ivory netsuke (plate 20). The distribution of this theme across mediums reflects how popular it was in urban seasonal culture.

Eagles, named *washi* 鷲 and distinguished as different from hawks, emerge as a topic in popular Edo-period culture in prints and netsuke. As discussed more fully by Yuiko Hotta in



2. Andō Hiroshige, *Falcon, Pine, and Sun*, 1852. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 28.6 x 9.6 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William S. and John T. Spaulding Collection, 21.6887.



3. Utagawa Yoshitora, *Hawk in a Pine Tree*, c. 1860. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 25.6 x 9 in., Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, Gift of William Green, AC 2004.196.

The Sorting Hat: Identity and Meaning in Japanese Depictions of Raptors

her article, “Predator or Protector?: The Meanings of the Eagle-and-Monkey Theme in Japan” in this volume, eagles are bound to monkeys in these depictions. In prints, the word *washi* is spelled out in the Japanese syllabary, rather than indicated with a Chinese character. As Hotta discusses, the origins of the word in Japan are obscure, its most frequent usage occurring in proverbs that were then transferred to art.¹⁵ Print artists generally relied on convention rather than life study, and Japan’s golden eagles were a rarity in art and nature. The “eagles” featured in the prints most resemble *kumataka*, the thick beak and feathered crest at the head being their distinguishing features. *Kumataka*, too, were rare, but not as much as golden eagles and they offered a raptor with features distinct from hawks.

RAPTORS IN THE MEIJI PERIOD (1868–1912)

When the feudal government fell and the emperor replaced the shogun as the country’s leader, Japanese public intellectuals grappled with the meaning of modern nationhood. Where once Japanese commonly thought of their domain as their “country” (*kuni*), Meiji-period realities made connecting with the larger, national scale imperative. Identifying common truths was one avenue, and among them was the simple notion that what made one Japanese was the land itself. Meiji writers and critics extolled the virtues and beauty of Japan’s topography.¹⁶ The natural sciences flourished in the Meiji period, giving empirical support to the study of place. Japanese artists across the style spectrum looked at the physical world of the here and now for subject matter, and naturalism became a leading trend. Naturalism suited the political ideals of the era, presenting as more democratic, more accessible than styles of the past that required specialized knowledge for appreciation, and naturalism was free of feudal associations. The child of a farmer and the child of a daimyo could equally appreciate naturalistic images of Japan’s beauty.

Hawks stayed in the repertoire of traditional Japanese artists, but their tethered form resonated with the samurai past. Meiji education used the ideals of the samurai to teach civics and patriotism, but emblems of their high status, like the trained hawk, were anachronistic and even antagonistic to modernization. The wild hawk, though, was an important denizen of nature and among the many creatures treated by Japanese artists. As Hokkaido became integrated into the larger national polity, sea eagles entered the known experience of Japan. *Kumataka* benefited from the naturalist’s interest and its form and habits more truly represented in art.

The essentially new topic was the eagle. Eagles live throughout the world, and Western powers embraced the imperial eagle (*Aquila heliaca*) as a symbol of national power. Golden eagles did not figure into Japanese culture, but the imperial eagle abounded in the language of modern statehood. This form remained unstable in Meiji art because it was an idea, not a form tethered to Japanese reality. Complicating what was an eagle was the ambiguity of the *kumataka*’s name when rendered into English, “hawk eagle.” English speakers were important as collectors of contemporary Japanese art, and given the service *kumataka* appear to have rendered Edo-period print makers as *washi*, the confusion of name and form compounded.

Japan’s national security depended on modernizing its military and infrastructure, which was expensive. The combined experience of participation in world’s fairs and receiving foreign visitors showed government and industry what the Westernized world wanted to buy from Japan. In most cases, Western consumers sought applied arts useful in the home. In the West, the prestige gulf between fine and applied arts was wide, and increasingly industrialization seemed to suck the beauty out of objects meant for use. Japan, too, was industrializing, but cultural attitudes were different, and esteem for ceramics, silk, lacquered objects, and the like remained high. The average Japanese household did not acquire as much stuff as Victorian ones did, and applied arts production stayed on a smaller scale. Japanese producers protected quality to maintain value and commissioned artists to improve techniques and innovate in design. Indeed, Westerners routinely praised

the quality and the seriousness with which Japanese artists across mediums addressed their work. What the honeymooning Larz and Isabel Anderson bought in Japan in 1897, described in “‘Wonderland of the World’: The Andersons and Japan” in this volume, with their mix of contemporary work and antiques, was typical of Americans over the course of the Meiji period.

Foreign markets were also important because of dislocations suffered by some Japanese artists at the start of the Meiji period. Metals artists lost patronage from two constituencies: samurai, who were no more, and Buddhist temples, which lost state support in favor of the native Shinto religion. No samurai meant no more ceremonial armor, with its fantastic helmets and elaborate swords requiring several different kinds of metal ornament. Horses remained esteemed, but their trappings Westernized. Buddhist temples required a host of metal ritual objects, from incense burners to gongs. But, in the early Meiji period, Buddhist temples were resorting to selling off treasures, not buying new ones.

Displaced artists transitioned to the new world order by making okimono; items placed out for visual interest, which included the idea of “sculpture.” Japanese interiors provided little space for displays, and okimono were not a major art category. But, Western consumers in the grips of Victorian fashion put sculptural objects all over their homes, as well as silks, vases, paintings, and anything else of decorative appeal. A former Buddhist metals artist could make decorative incense burners and vases instead of pious ones; the armorer could turn his skill in ceremonial helmets to sculpture by taking their representational decorations, such as animals, and making stand-alone objects. Makers of netsuke could enlarge their subjects to freestanding figures. Painters who had depended on samurai patronage adapted to changing tastes in Japan and to the preferences of foreigners.

Meiji-period artists rendered hawks in two and three dimensions and both wild and tethered. While Japanese collectors had little use for explicit references to the feudal past, Western collectors romanticized the world of the samurai warrior and their codes of conduct, honor, and self-sacrifice. Photographers in Yokohama offered souvenir photos of samurai and some Western visitors even dressed up as samurai sporting their iconic two swords.¹⁷ Samurai and classic beauties abounded in object types aimed particularly at foreigners, such as in Satsuma ware (plates 69–72). The image of the hawk, tethered as in feudal times was, for foreign buyers, redolent of “traditional Japan.”

Tethered hawks moved into three dimensions as Japanese sculptors combined life-size metal hawks with literal lacquered wood stands and silk-corded tethers (plate 47). In works like *Okimono of Hawk Perched on a Lacquer Stand*, the focus is the naturalistic hawk, its form and attitude modeled on life. In the Edo period, samurai wanted some naturalism to express that each bird was a prized individual. In the Meiji period, sculpted naturalism seemed to obviate style and make subject matter immediately accessible to any viewer. Providing the represented creatures with actual accessories emphasized the verisimilitude of the whole ensemble. Even the notion of a gallery of individuals, established in Edo-period folding screens (plates 13–14) found plastic form once, in the famous *Twelve Bronze Falcons* by Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919), shown in the 1893 Chicago world’s fair (fig. 4).

Only Suzuki, in an explicit reference to Japan’s noble past, placed his hawks on the curtained perches used by samurai. Otherwise, Japanese artists gave their hawks simple, T-shaped perches, in effect suppressing historical determination and playing to the global interest in sport hawking. The perches stayed emphatically Japanese, though, in their lacquered decoration such as feather patterns inlaid in gold and silver and the sprinkled gold of the base of *Okimono of Hawk* (plate 47). The bird is rendered in silver in order to approximate white in metal, which at the same time increased the object’s material value. This figure is also a functional incense burner, with slots between back feathers to allow smoke to escape. Western collectors had no need of censers in the home, but this functionality points to the scaffolding the large incense burner type gave Japanese metal artists transitioning from temple patronage to sculpture. These large objects were not made for the domestic



THE TWELVE JAPANESE FALCONS, NATURAL SIZE, IN BRONZE CASTED, CHASED AND COLORED
Made by CHOKITI SUZUKI and exhibited by TADAMASA HAYASHI.
AT THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO 1893.

4. "The Twelve Japanese Falcons," from Tadamasa Hayashi, *Twelve Bronze Falcons Exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago 1893* (Tokyo 1893).

Japanese market; like Suzuki's ensemble, they were made for foreign audiences. Their size, precious materials, and exceptional execution aimed particularly at Victorian collectors.

Japanese sculptors treated the wild hawk subject in similar fashion, providing actual wooden perches for their metal birds, as in *Okimono of a Silver Hawk* (plate 8). The association of wild hawks with trees, particularly pines, was strong, and the bird was conventionally shown resting on a branch. In sculpture, naturalism and pragmatism joined to replace a potentially awkward projecting branch with the closed form of a stump. Actual tree wood again supported the illusion of verisimilitude in the rendered bird. In *Silver Hawk*, both the figure and its base are dynamic. The hawk is poised for flight, wings spread, body taut and head projecting. The stump is a wonder of nature, fit in its own right for a (large) cabinet of curios. It is such a bizarre form, its distance from the regularities of the man-made is emphatic.

Tethered and wild hawks were subjects from high culture sanctified by origins in Chinese art. The foot-warming sparrow, used by hawks on cold winter nights, was a commoner's tale. The writings of Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904) and others opened the rich world of Japanese legends and stories to the English-speaking world and the foot-warming sparrow became a subject in painting. British architect Josiah Conder (1852–1919) learned the story from his painting teacher, Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–89), and Conder both painted a version himself and owned one by Kyōsai.¹⁸ In Conder's explanation, the hawk essentially "borrowed" the living sparrow as a kind of hot-water bottle for the feet. The hawk released the sparrow in the morning and wisely watched the direction of the small bird's flight for intelligence on potential prey. Maude Rex Allen gives a more romantic version that credits the hawk with nobility of character, for in return for the sparrow's warming services the hawk "allows its escape, pledging itself not to fly in the same direction for twenty-four hours!"¹⁹

Okada Baison's (1864–1913) version of the "hawk-warming sparrow" was surely meant to appeal to a Western collector (plate 92). Largely an ink painting, the bird is highly naturalistic in execution: Baison eschews ink contour lines, using careful washes of ink to

develop volumes and shadow. This little-known painter participated in critique sessions at the Japan Art Institute (Nihon Bijutsuin, founded 1898), where its leader, Okakura Kakuzō (1863–1913), encouraged members to develop a new national painting based upon tradition. Okakura pressed painters to enhance the illusion of space and volume in traditional painting, seeing these as weaknesses in comparison to Western art.²⁰ Baison's expert foreshortening of the sparrow turned perpendicular to the hawk and the clear ordering of spatial recession aligns with Art Institute interests. Baison's scene is almost uncanny in its naturalism, which breaks down the distance of legend to assert that hawks really do this. His choice of showing the hawk carrying away the captive sparrow instead of showing its release in the morning is unique. It encourages comparison with stories of eagles, who are credited with carrying away humans or monkeys for benevolent reasons (plate 28).²¹ On one level, the story is a Japanese curiosity. But the context of the Japan Art Institute suggests reading deeper into the topic. Then one might see the right of a superior power to take advantage of a weaker entity if done with restraint, much like the politics of the era when Japan began asserting itself in the affairs of Korea.

Much less custom adhered to representing true eagles since their depiction in Japan had been so rare. Unequivocal eagles emerge in Meiji-period art with significant frequency thanks to the international art market. The most dramatic examples were in sculpture, where the size of eagles could be fully appreciated. Sculptors followed the same formula they had established with hawks, and typically presented a metal-formed bird on an actual tree stump. *Eagle with Outstretched Wings* (plate 84) is an exceptional example of this type—a large raptor on a large stump—but, more than most, the work strives for true naturalistic description.

Once again, the stump asserts verisimilitude. This stump is very tall, evoking eagle habitats in mountainous heights and among forest giants. The stump has a strong grain, deep recesses, and sharp texture: it is nature-made not man-made. The eagle is shown with wings raised, head turned, and body taut in a characterization reflecting close study of real birds. Its legs are spread to accommodate the stump's uneven surface; consequently the eagle's weight is shifted, with its wings raised to somewhat different levels, the tail and head position following. Most life-size Meiji-period sculptures of raptors were rendered in bronze; this one is iron. The head and claws are solid cast and modeled in low relief, while the feathers of the eagle's torso are individually hammered, incised, and riveted to the metal core. This individuation permits the artist, presumed to be the famed metal artist Suzuki Chōkichi, to closely model naturalistic form.²²

This additive approach to composing eagle form was also used in ivory. In one example from a private collection (plate 86), the eagle looks upward, wings spread and head lifted, as if contemplating pursuit of some prey. Ivory, better than silver, describes white plumage, which was valued more highly than common earth tones. Whether or not any actual white-plumed eagles were ever observed in Japan, the vocabulary of hawks firmly established the priority placed on white. The body of the figure is cloaked in individually rendered feathers of ivory, which were pinned into place on a wooden core. Ivory was a common material for making netsuke figures, and such sculptors easily answered to foreign collectors of figurines. This life-size eagle stretches the boundaries of ivory's customary sizes, while still rooting its making in small scale through the individual feathers. Here, the actual wood stump is proportionally much smaller in the ensemble, giving full attention to the tour-de-force ivory eagle.²³

In painting, Kawanabe Kyōsai is among the Meiji-period artists most associated with the raptor subject. Kyōsai studied Kano painting and made his career in Edo/Tokyo where he was a famous public personality with a showman's flair and a taste for outlandish subject matter.²⁴ Kyōsai began his career in the Edo period, and, in 1863, he authored a three-volume illustrated book on hawking that covered its history, the methods of hawking, and many images of individual hawks.²⁵ In the Meiji period and the fall of the feudal sys-

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5. Postcard for Samurai Shōkai, 1907–18. Handcolored print, 5.5 x 3.5 in., New York Public Library, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c260bdb3-9b99-4552-c040-e00a18066d81>.

throes of attack tears an eye out of a monkey. In this last scene, all landscape context is gone; the figures are alone against a bare background, the violence foregrounded. In this series of scrolls, Kyōsai shows his Kano training in ink, and making the last scene devoid of setting recalls Kano Tsunenobu's album discussed above, where there, too, all scenes but the one of combat have landscape settings.²⁷

Kyōsai's choices of prey follow the habits of *kumataka* in nature. Rabbits are among the more common prey, and these appear twice in the set. Because the *kumataka* hunts mammals (and reptiles), they make their kills on the ground, one reason samurai favored the airborne attacks of hawks, who hunted other birds. Both monkeys and *tanuki* are also part of the *kumataka* diet, the birds favoring prey equal to or smaller than their own size. The *tanuki* and the tiger cub have been identified as “mountain lions,” though they are clearly two different creatures; this confusion likely dates back to Smith's acquisition of the works. The appearance of a tiger as antagonist is the exotic exception to nature, as these are not part of the Japanese landscape. Kyōsai does, however, restrict its size to cub, thus keeping it in the range of *kumataka* ability.

JAPANESE EAGLES ON THE INTERNATIONAL STAGE

Eagles gained prominence as subjects in Japanese art in its concurrence with the industrialized West. Rather than the shorter-beaked golden eagle, Japanese artists depicted the larger eagles familiar to Europe and North America. Eagles were important symbols of nationhood in Europe, particularly in the standards and emblems used in war. For Americans, the eagle was the national bird, featured at the center of America's Great Seal of State. The attraction the eagle had for Western collectors was understood at the official and commercial levels: Samurai Shōkai, a large “curio” shop founded in 1894

tem, Kyōsai cultivated Western patronage and produced a large number of animal paintings, including raptors at the hunt. New York businessman Charles Stewart Smith (1832–1909) honeymooned in Japan in 1892–93 and acquired seven paintings by Kyōsai featuring eagles. Four of them comprise a quartet of very large hanging scrolls dating to 1885 that reflect upon the power of the raptor (plates 87–90).²⁶ Identified as eagles since acquisition, no doubt owing to the confusing nature of the Japanese and English nomenclature, these are rather depictions of *kumataka*. The descriptions of the birds, with their distinctive beak form and feather crest, characterize *kumataka* and other works by Kyōsai, demonstrating that he knew the difference. Two of the *kumataka*'s antagonists in this quartet are ambiguous, but these can be brought into focus once the raptor is understood as a *kumataka*.

Kyōsai's quartet shows the stages of the hunt: a white *kumataka*, standing on a rock that harbors sleeping rabbits, warns off a tiger cub; a *kumataka* closes in on a rabbit; a *kumataka* grips a *tanuki*, a kind of raccoon-dog, its forward claw just penetrating its body; and finally, a *kumataka* in the full

in Yokohama, Japan's port of entry for foreign visitors, displayed a large eagle sculpture on its exterior (fig. 5), while Japan showed eagle sculptures in their world's fairs exhibits. As Japanese leaders studied Western statecraft, they grasped the importance of this bird in expressions of national pride and power. In Japan, the eagle image could play to that symbolism and, in a place where the sea eagle was migratory, traveling between it and the Eurasian landmass, the eagle could embody the idea of foreign relations.

Japanese authorities demonstrated their understanding of the importance of the eagle at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. At this world's fair, Japan became the first non-Western nation permitted to show its art in the fine art gallery rather than in a hall of manufactures, where decorative arts and non-Western art formats were otherwise displayed. The entry to Japan's section of Chicago's Palace of Fine Arts was on the first floor, where there was room for larger exhibits to spread forward of the galleries. Like European sections, Japan's entry featured an architectural model, a pagoda much like the later one now in a private collection (plate 68) a large Buddhist Guardian, and a large bronze raptor on a wooden stump (fig. 6). The raptor's wings are spread, his claws gripping a tree stump tipped over so that the roots offer a perch.²⁸ Raptors in general were prominent in the Japanese galleries, with two works by Suzuki Chōkichi, a life-size bronze eagle on a wooden stump²⁹ and his *Twelve Bronze Hawks*, the *Ivory Hawk* on natural wood stand by Kaneda Kenjirō (1847–?), plus the large hanging scroll *Eagle and Monkey* by Imao Keinen (1845–1924).³⁰ Eagles with explicit political meaning appeared in a cloisonné trio of two vases and a censer, shown in the Hall of Manufactures. The group is an allegory of nations with interests in Korea, a pair of eagles on one vase representing imperial Russia and a sculpted eagle on the center incense burner representing the United States. The familiar rising sun symbolized Japan.³¹



6. “Entrance to Japanese Department,” from Hubert Howe Bancroft, *The Book of the Fair: An Historical and Descriptive Presentation of the World's Science, Art, and Industry, as Viewed through the Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893*, vol. 8 (Chicago: Bancroft, 1895), 763.

The eagle-and-monkey theme of Edo-period prints found new life in the Meiji period. Whether rooted in proverbs or Shinto, the paired animals were a topic that in the Edo period appealed to Edo commoners, not elites. Suzuki Kason (1860–1919), a painter trained in a broad range of earlier styles, translated the theme into painting with his *Eagle and Monkey* (plate 91). Kason was affiliated with the Japan Art Institute, and his painting is notably naturalistic. In this composition, his eagle is clearly a guardian: perched on high rock, he gazes down at a monkey who is carefree in his harvesting of wild berries. The eagle is large, vigilant, and majestic; the monkey is oblivious. Kason brushed the painting in 1898, at the peak of the Japan Art Institute's interest in creating a new national painting. Kason, a Tokyo painter, could have inherited the topic from popular city culture, but the context suggests a nationalist reading: the noble eagle protects the monkey as the nation does its citizens.

In the Meiji period, a new eagle theme emerged that had possible roots in Chinese painting but offered new relevance: an eagle perched on weathered rocks amidst animated sea waves. This composition originates in the work of Ming-dynasty painter Lü Ji (c. 1420s–1504).³² Lü innovated with the homonymic potential of the eagle theme to develop two new compositions addressing his era of government corruption. One combined eagles and magpies to convey the idea of a sovereign taking counsel from wise advisers. The other placed an isolated eagle on a rock in water. Its title reads *qingchao duli*, which in standard form would mean “standing alone in a clean court.” Replacing the character for “court” with the one for “tides” re-situated the phrase. Hou-mei Sung's research shows that the function of this homonymic message was encouragement to honest officials, symbolized by a proud, lone eagle amid battering waves.

In Japan, the composition of a raptor on rock amid waves occurs rarely in the Edo period. One example by Kano Tan'yū (1602–74) is in his album *Studies of Ancient Masters*, which situates the theme in a history of great painting covering China and Japan.³³ Tan'yū's first leaf is *White Hawk* (fig. 7) in the style of Song Emperor Huizong (1082–1135), a paint-

ing that closely follows the only extant example of the type, a Ming-dynasty work formerly attributed to Huizong.³⁴ In the Ming-dynasty work and Tan'yū's, the raptor has a significant crest at the back of the head, making it fit neatly with the known form of the Japanese *kumataka*. The rock he stands on, with its distinctive holes, is Chinese in style and form. If Tan'yū's painting reflects a Japanese integration of the Chinese eagle-waves-rock theme, it arrives resonating with the general message of noble stalwart rising above a hostile environment.

While rare in the Edo period, the eagle-and-wave theme gained currency in the Meiji period particularly in art aimed at Western collectors. A large bronze fire-place screen by Sugiura Yukimune (1856–1901) called *Japan Gazing Upon the World* has the stature and quality of an object made for international exhibition (fig. 8). The rectangular piece on integrated stand generally follows the *tsuitate* standing screen type, though those had primarily been paintings. The composition recalls Kano Tan'yū's album leaf (fig. 7). Both works show an eagle perched on a Chinese-style rock that emerges from the bottom edge of the picture plane. Waves form lines of rounded peaks that neatly fade to sky. Both raptors twist, turning their heads upward to gaze at the sky. Tan'yū's hawk regards a red rising sun; Sugiura's has not the orb of the sun but the globe above him, revolved to show the continent of North America described in gold. Emmett Naylor, writing in 1913, remarks on the object's title, “It is quite possible that the artist intended by this to indicate Japan's friendliness for America, or perhaps America's greatness.”³⁵ This is a rare instance of Japan symbolized by the eagle, perhaps in identification with the United States, which lies opposite it across the ocean.

Sea eagles were more often depicted in Meiji art free of overt symbolism. At last real creatures in Japan, the established composition of eagle, rock, and waves naturalistically suited depictions of such birds. Western collectors avidly collected vases; scenes from the natural world were common, and sea eagles well represented among them. In an example of a silver vase from a private collection, a coastal eagle in low relief dominates one side, his head turned to the side. He stands on massed shore rocks, waves flowing along the vase's bottom (plate 80). Print artist Ohara Koson (1877–1945) developed a career depicting flora and fauna for largely foreign consumption.³⁶ Koson created approximately a dozen different compositions with eagles, examining them in their many aspects: in flight, on branches, in inclement weather, and on rocks. One of his eagle prints shows the raptor at the shore, high waves battering his rocky perch (plate 4).³⁷

The eagle purchased by Larz and Isabel Anderson in Japan in 1897 and now owned by Boston College is a rare example of a sculpted raptor on huge scale (plates 85a–b). This sculpture presents an eagle with wings lifted, head craned sidewise and eyes alert; were its wings spread out flat in the manner of the Metropolitan's iron figure (plate 84), he would measure a commanding nine-foot span. The Boston College eagle stands on a substantial cast-bronze rock and not the wood typically given these sculptures. The piece has suffered



8. Sugiura Yukimune, *Japan Gazing Upon the World*, 19th century. Bronze, silver, gold, 46.4 x 32.6 in., George Walter Vincent Smith Museum, Springfield, 25.23.220.



7. Kano Tan'yū, *White Hawk* (after Huizong), from *Studies of Ancient Masters (Gakkochō)*, 1670. Album leaf, ink and color on silk, 13.8 x 17.5 in., private collection.

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damage to its base and legs, but historic photographs of it at the Andersons' Weld estate show how very large the base was.³⁸ The original base had a broad bottom and two rocky heights, the eagle standing on the taller of the two. The rocks are dramatically carved, suggesting the sheer cuts of the Chinese-style ax-cut stroke of painting. The present form preserves only the center rise, the whole of the lower portion now gone.

The Anderson eagle compares well with the previous sea eagles. Considered with Ohara Koson's sea eagle print, we see two eagles lifting their wings and craning their necks downward and to the proper left, their strong claws grasping deeply carved rocks. Koson's print shows the missing element: the arcing ocean waves that pared down the rocks. When the Andersons displayed their eagle at Weld, they, knowingly or not, completed the imagery. The Andersons placed their eagle not just in their Japanese garden, but in the garden's pond, thus providing the requisite waters. Certainly, the Andersons prized their Japanese eagle as the emblem of the United States and for their history with Japan, the bird embodying international comity for a single owner. But, in placing it into the longer history of the sea eagle in Japan, we see it travel from China to Japan to America, a heroic figure made common property through naturalism.

Japanese depictions of eagles, hawks, and *kumataka* echo larger historical trends. The hawk image flourished alongside the samurai, who prized their feathered hunters for their skill and beauty. Japan's own endemic eagle was little known, and the *kumataka* suited samurai hawking but little in either beauty or sport. The fortunes of all three birds changed when Japan opened to Western trade and diplomacy. The hawk as possession evoked the past, something more attractive to romanticizing foreigners than Japanese reformers. The prevailing taste for naturalism in the Meiji period accompanied a larger interest in Japan as a real place with special characteristics beloved by the Japanese people as a nation and a polity. The whole host of Japanese flora and fauna, including hawks and *kumataka*, attracted artistic attention, with patronage coming from both home and abroad. Japanese artists and bureaucrats tasked with representing Japan in world's expositions embraced eagles in the forms common to the West. At once commanding in mien and rich in symbolism, the eagle, like Boston College's own fine example, catered to Western ideology and occasionally served Japan, too, as one of the period's most important symbols of nation.

- 1 See Rory Browne, "Raptors and Realism: The Real Birds of Japanese Art," in the present volume.
- 2 Hou-mei Sung, "Eagle and Hawk," chap. 1 in *Decoded Messages: The Symbolic Language of Chinese Animal Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 7.
- 3 Elizabeth Ann Lillehoj discusses hawk painting in Japan and the hawk specialists Soga Chokuan and Soga Nichokuan in her dissertation, "The Art of Soga Chokuan and Nichokuan, Two Painters of Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century Japan" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1988).
- 4 Rachel Saunders was the first to properly identify the *kumataka* in her "Pursuits of Power: Falconry in Edo Period Japan," *Orientalism* 36, no. 2 (Mar. 2005): 82–92.
- 5 See Morgan Pitelka, "Lordly Sport: Raptors, Falconry, and the Control of Land," in *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), chap. 4. Tokugawa national control was a stepwise process: the decisive Battle of Sekigahara in 1600 raised Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) to national leadership; he was made "shogun" in 1603; and he destroyed his last but most effective rivals in 1615.
- 6 See Brenda Jordan and Victoria Weston, eds., *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003) for discussions of *funpon* method across several case study chapters.
- 7 E. W. Jameson Jr., *The Hawking of Japan: The History and Development of Japanese Falconry* (1962; Davis: University of California Press, 1976), 39–44.

- 8 Jameson, 70–73. For example, the youngsters (properly termed "eyasses") could be trained to attack the much larger and combative cranes or egrets capable of stabbing back with their beaks. Hawks trained to attack rabbits had their claws sharpened.
- 9 Lillehoj, "Soga Chokuan and Nichokuan," 135.
- 10 The screens have seals on some of the perch's silk drapes, but these have not yet been read.
- 11 These formal perches with drapes falling from the horizontal bar are properly termed *hoko*. Jameson, *Hawking of Japan*, 6.
- 12 Koh Masuda, ed., *Kenkyusha's New Japanese-English Dictionary*, 4th ed. (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1974), 1719. This authoritative dictionary elaborates on these many related meanings. Homonymic association also occurred in China during the Ming dynasty. In a painting of an eagle (*ying*) with a bear (*xiong*), for instance, the two sounds combine to make *yingxiong*, a word for "hero." These are images clearly based on wordplay rather than nature. The frequency of inscriptions on Chinese paintings of *ying* clarify symbolic and homonymic meanings. Sung, "Eagle and Hawk," 16.
- 13 See Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, ed., *Kazari: Decoration and Display in Japan, 15th–19th Centuries*, exh. cat. (New York: Japan Society, 2002) for concepts of display in pre-modern Japan.
- 14 Lillehoj, "Soga Chokuan and Nichokuan," 136n50. Smaller hawking events occurred in the autumn.
- 15 See Hotta, "Predator or Protector?," 52–53.
- 16 Examples of this include the nature sketches of writer Kunikida Doppo (1871–1908); and Shiga Shigetaka (1863–1927), *Nihon fukei ron* [Japanese scenery], 1894 as discussed in Kenneth Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1883–1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 160–62. Shiga argued that nationhood had physical form in topography, and applied findings from natural science. This trend is discussed in Richard Okada, "'Landscape' and the Nation-State: A Reading of *Nihon fukei ron*," in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 90–107.
- 17 See Christine Guth, *Longfellow's Tattoos: Tourism, Collecting, and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004).
- 18 *Hawk in Snow* by Josiah Conder (Japan Ukiyo-e Museum collection) in *Gaki Kyōsai: Bakumatsu Meiji no sutaa eshi to deshi Conder* [Kyōsai: Master painter and his student Josiah Conder], exh. cat. (Tokyo: Mitsubishi Ichigōkan Bijutsukan, 2015), plate 31 and Josiah Conder, *Painting & Studies by Kawanabe Kyōsai* (1911; Saitama: Kawanabe Kyōsai Memorial Museum, 1993), 105.
- 19 Maude Rex Allen, *Japanese Art Motives* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1917), 72.
- 20 Okada Baison can be tracked through the monthly volumes of *Nihon Bijutsu*, the journal produced by the Japan Art Institute (Nihon Bijutsuin). Okakura, the Nihon Bijutsuin, and the development of *mōrōtai* style are discussed in Weston, *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and His Circle* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004).
- 21 Hotta, "Predator or Protector?," 54–55.
- 22 See Joe Earle, "Suzuki Chōkichi: Master of Metal Raptors," in this volume for a close discussion of this artist that includes the Metropolitan's eagle.
- 23 The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston owns a very similar ivory eagle (60.491), sharing the same pose and such details as facial features and the way the feathers run the length of the leg. Their record attributes it to China, but eagle figures were common in Japan and the stylistic similarities are striking. Its wooden base is surely a replacement, for it is crude and is not descriptive of any natural setting. The MFA's ivory eagle is significantly smaller, its width measuring 26.7 as compared to 42 inches. This degree of size variation occurs in hawk figures as well.
- 24 In addition to Conder's contemporary assessment of Kyōsai, cited above, see the following for scholarly analysis of Kyōsai's work: Timothy Clark, *Demon of Painting: The Art of Kawanabe Kyōsai*, exh. cat. (London: British Museum, 1993) and Brenda Jordan, "Strange Fancies and Fresh Conceptions: Kyōsai in an Age of Conflict" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1993).
- 25 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Ehon taka kagami* [An illustrated mirror of falconry], 1997.590.1–3. Discussed in Jordan, "Strange Fancies," 71–72.
- 26 Conder, *Kawanabe Kyōsai*, 105, 111; Eriko Tomizawa-Kay, "Kenkyū shiryō: Metoroporitan Bijutsukan shozō, Charuzu Suchuwaato Sumisu korekushon 'Kindai Nihon gajō'" [Research

notes: From the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Charles Stewart Smith Collection *Album of Modern Japanese Art*, *Biijutsu Kenkyū* [Journal of art studies], no. 419 (June 2016): 27–28. Smith honeymooned in Japan with his third wife and bought a huge collection of Japanese prints, ceramics, and paintings from Captain Frank Brinkley (1841–1912), editor of the *Japan Daily Mail* and the *Japan Weekly Mail*, who acted as a dealer for Kyōsai.

- 27 Jordan cites another example of a Kano hawking manual doing this, the *Nigiri kobushi*, in “Strange Fancies,” 315.
- 28 Photographs of this entryway are too distant to allow further identification of this large raptor.
- 29 Bronze on natural wood, bird measuring approximately 1.5 feet tall; both wings measuring 2.8 feet wide, Tokyo National Museum.
- 30 Keinen’s painting (color on silk, 76.7 x 42 in.), like the other Japanese exhibition paintings shown in the Palace of Fine Arts, is now in the collection of Tokyo National Museum, as is Kaneda’s *Ivory Hawk* (19.7 in. tall). Both are discussed in Furuta Ryō et al., *Umi o watatta Meiji no bijutsu: saigen! 1893 nen Shikago Koronbusu Sekai Hakurankai* [World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893 revisited: Nineteenth-century Japanese art shown in Chicago, USA] (Tokyo: Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan, 1997), 97, 111. There, Keinen’s painting is characterized as humorous, but in light of Yuiko Hotta’s discussion of the eagle-and-monkey theme, its meaning should be reconsidered. “Predator or Protector?,” 51–56.
- 31 The program of decoration is described in Department of Publicity and Promotion, *World’s Columbian Exposition: Revised Catalogue; Department of Fine Arts* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey, 1893), cat. no. 375 as reproduced in Joe Earle, *Splendors of Meiji: Treasures from Imperial Japan; Masterpieces from the Khalili Collection*, exh. cat. (St. Petersburg: Broughton International, 1999), 234. One vase, with eagles, is in the Khalili Collection; see Earle, 234. The group is also discussed by Judith Snodgrass, “Exhibiting Meiji Modernity: Japanese Art at the Columbian Exposition,” *East Asian History*, no. 31 (June 2006): 75–100. Snodgrass reproduces the censor on page 79.
- 32 Sung, “Eagle and Hawk,” 22–34, where she discusses Lü Ji, his two new *ying* compositions, and how to read them. Sung notes several examples recorded in the historical literature that are no longer extant.
- 33 Yukio Lippit discusses this album (dated 1670, private collection) in his *Painting of the Realm: The Kano House of Painters in 17th-Century Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2012), 108–10. Kano Tan’yū was a very influential painter, his work serving as models to others. This composition was surely perpetuated among Edo-period Kano and Kano-trained painters. See Hae Yeun Kim, “Hawk Diplomacy between Japan and Korea,” in this catalogue for further discussion of Tan’yū.
- 34 Sung, “Eagle and Hawk,” 33–34. The painting carries an attribution to Emperor Huizong Musée Cernuschi, Paris, hanging scroll, ink and color on silk.
- 35 Emmett Naylor, “The Springfield Art Museum and the George Walter Vincent Smith Collection,” *Western New England Magazine* 3, no. 3 (Mar. 1913): 104.
- 36 See Amy Newland, Jan Perree, and Robert Schapp, *Cranes, Crows, & Camellias: The Natural World of Ohara Koson, 1877–1945; Japanese Prints from the Jan Perrée Collection*, exh. cat. (Leiden: Hotei, 2010) for this artist’s work. This exhibition catalogue also includes a checklist of known Koson designs, ordered by topic. It is here that the Koson’s repeated engagement with some of his subjects really stands out.
- 37 Newland, Perree, and Schapp, 184–85, 206.
- 38 See figures 1 and 13 in “Wonderland of the World” in this volume.

Raptors and Realism: The Real Birds of Japanese Art

Rory Browne

TO WESTERN PERCEPTIONS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH and early twentieth centuries, Japan was associated with flowers and fabrics, samurai and geishas, woodblock prints and sword guards, and gardens and birds. Nature presented in rich and idyllic form, as though Japan were an Eden untainted by industrialization. Japan's architecture, with its sliding walls giving onto landscaped views and the country's calendar of seasonal observances, seemed evidence of the country's particular affinity for its natural setting.

For an archipelago separated from its continental landmass, Japan has quite an impressive catalogue of mammalian fauna in terms of both size and diversity. It has, for instance, two species of bear (the brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, and the Asiatic or Japanese black bear, *Ursus thibetanus*); remnant and subspecific populations of the attractively spotted sika deer, *Cervus nippon*, which once roamed the Northeast Asian mainland; a unique goat-antelope in the Japanese serow, *Capricornis crispus*; and the most northerly distributed non-human primate in the Japanese macaque, *Macaca fuscata*.¹ But artistic imagination, seasonal associations, and natural symbolism prioritized graceful and attractive birds, notably cranes and songbirds, as well as the great raptors. Hawks and eagles abound in Japanese art, where they are treated in a variety of stylistic forms ranging from the seemingly naturalistic to the imaginative.

Western associations of Japan and its birds were given tangible form in 1913, with the opening of the Bird House or "Aviary" (that name appears above the main entrance in Japanese-styled Roman letters) of Boston's new zoo in Franklin Park (fig. 1). Resplendent in red lacquer and gold, and roofed in copper and glass, it was designed in Japanese style by William Downes Austin (1856–1943) to house migratory birds, as well as to give winter quarters to the cranes, pelicans, and waterfowl of the great outdoor Flight Cage.² Today the structure still stands, transformed internally into a series of bar-less habitat displays, but Japan is now further recalled by the young Steller's sea eagle (fig. 2) in a nearby aviary.³ A migratory bird, the sea eagle represents the avifauna of Japan, which includes a goodly number of those masters of the air, the raptors or birds of prey. Japan has not only resident representatives of raptors but also many seasonal visitors. One can see seven species of the sixty-four-member falcon family or *Falconidae*, while the tally for the other family of birds of prey, the *Accipitridae* or hawk family, which includes eagles, buzzards, and vultures, is even larger, with twenty-two of the 233 species worldwide.⁴ This diversity of bird life comes from Japan's proximity to the Asian continent from which it was separated in relatively recent geological time by the flooding of the Sea of Japan. But much of



1. Franklin Park Zoo's Bird House, c. 1920. Boston Public Library, 08_02_002683.

it can also be attributed to the geography of the archipelago itself. With its long arc of islands, extending from sub-arctic Hokkaido in the north to the sub-tropical Ryukyu chain swinging southward toward Taiwan, Japan serves as a resident meeting place and mingling point of both the Palearctic (Sino-Manchurian and Siberian) and Oriental [zoogeographic term] faunas. As a branch or branches of the "Great East Asian Flyway," the main bird migration route linking Southeast Asia with Siberia, it also hosts many seasonal visitors who take advantage for their travels of its climate, with its four staggered and well-defined seasons and its two rainy interludes. The marine currents and long, indented coastline, the multiplicity of islands and islets, and the rugged and forested topography of the four main islands with their cold, snowy winters have all contributed to a diversity of habitats. Japan's relative isolation and this very diversity of often fragmented habitats have furthermore



2. A Steller's sea eagle flying in Rausu, Hokkaido. Photo: Jambomambo13/Wikimedia Commons (CC BY-SA 3.0).



3. Japanese golden eagle in Tama Zoological Park, Tokyo. Photo: Takashi Hososhima/Flickr (CC BY-SA 2.0).

contributed to the development of subspecies and even endemic species.⁵

The richness and transience of the bird population render the task of the would-be bird identifier, whether in the field or in art, challenging to say the least. In the case of raptors, individuals of similar or related species are notoriously difficult to tell apart.⁶ There is little sexual dimorphism among them, with the females being slightly larger than the males, and any distinctive coloration or plumage is often acquired only after several years and molts, rendering the juveniles drab and indistinguishable. The young male Steller's sea eagle at Franklin Park Zoo is at the time of writing (late September 2018) only just acquiring his distinctive yellow bill and white forehead, shoulders, and underparts.⁷

To the naked eye, it is often difficult to identify any perched raptor high in a roost,⁸ but there are distinguishing features. Once in the air, falcons as a whole can be distinguished from broad-winged, square-tailed hawks by their almost swallow-like wings, long tails, and aerial acrobatics. Within the broader *Accipiter* group, eagles are marked by their larger size, stronger beaks, and big feet, but even that is not an infallible guide. Further distinctions can be made between true or "booted" eagles who have feathers down their legs and those with bare legs. Eagles of the genus *Aquila* and their hawk eagle relatives in the genus *Spizaetus* are booted; the more distantly related sea or fish eagles of the genus *Haliaeetus*, relatives of kites and vultures, are not.⁹ Finally, to add to the confusion, there is a species on the southern, sub-tropical Ryukyu Islands that rejoices in the popular name of Ryukyu serpent-eagle, but as the hyphenated modifier implies, it is not a member of either group, belonging rather to its own distinct group of Indo-Malayan serpent-eagles.

The ornithological history of the serpent-eagle in Japan is itself a neat illustration of the pitfalls attending bird identification. Only in 1991 was it elevated to distinct species status, having long been regarded as a subspecies of the continental crested serpent-eagle, *Spilornis cheela* (little wonder its new trivial name is *Spilornis perplexus*). That the serpent-eagle confines itself to the evergreen forests of the extreme south of the Ryukyus helps provide means for its accurate identification. In fact, range or distribution and habitat or behavioral ecology are often very useful in telling birds apart or, at least, in narrowing down the possibilities. Thus, of the two sea or fish eagles to be found in Japan, both the white-tailed sea eagle, *Haliaeetus albicilla*, and the Steller's sea eagle, *H. pelagicus*, are more likely to be found as winter visitors in Hokkaido, sometimes in large numbers over capes and fishing grounds, but only rarely in Honshu. Even then, the white-tailed sea eagle may be more widespread because of the Steller's shore-hugging habit.¹⁰

Similarly, of the true eagles to be found in Japan, it is easy to dismiss both the imperial eagle, *Aquila heliaca*, and the greater spotted eagle, *A. clanga*, as accidental, wind-blown visitors, though both have been recorded in Honshu, Kyushu, and the Ryukyus. Golden

eagles, *A. chrysaetos*, are non-migratory residents of Honshu and, like all apex predators, relatively few in number (fig. 3). They are territorial and remain at altitudes above 3,900 feet in Honshu's Japanese Alps throughout the year. Mark Brazil describes them as "restricted to fairly remote mountain regions with steep-sided valleys and exposed rocky crags,"¹¹ though he admits that on the snowy Sea of Japan side they prefer lower altitudes. And they have been known to wander down to the coast and out to the coastal islands. Thus, it is fair to assume that any early representations of eagles in Japanese art, insofar as they were inspired by nature, were based upon the golden eagle, especially when such geopolitical considerations as the late incorporation of Hokkaido into the Japanese polity are taken into consideration. Given its scarcity, the remoteness of its habitat, and soaring flight, it is difficult to believe that even when it inspired artists directly, its image was immediately drawn from life.

The same objections do not seem to hold true for its smaller but still powerful relative, the mountain hawk eagle, *Nisaetus nipalensis* (fig. 4). The bird is also known as Hodgson's hawk eagle, in Japanese as *kumataka*, and until recently, was classified as *Spizaetus nipalensis*. This raptor is a member of the Indo-Malayan fauna with a distribution ranging from India and the Himalayas through South China up into Japan. Like the golden eagle, it is a resident of remote mountain regions but can be more often found at lower forested altitudes, and it has a breeding range incorporating Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu. It is recognizable by its distinctive crest and has long been appreciated by the Japanese through its use in hawking. According to modern authorities, both the golden eagle and the hawk eagle feed largely on the same species, with just three, copper pheasants, hares (*Lepus brachyurus*), and snakes (*Elaphe climacophora*), making up the greater part of their diet. Golden eagles will occasionally take larger prey, including the raccoon-like dog (*Nyctereutes procyonoides*), but only the hawk eagle is identified as the main predator of the Japanese macaques, probably because they share the same habitat of deciduous and mixed woodlands. But even then hawk eagles prefer "to take middle size individuals" when hunting monkeys.¹²

Golden eagles and hawk eagles were little appreciated in Japan for sport hunting. Golden eagles prefer to hunt and feed off lagomorphs (Japanese hares, but also mountain hares at the other end of the golden eagle's great range in Scotland) and running, ground-hugging game birds such as copper and green pheasants in Japan, a taste shared



4. Mountain hawk eagle, Mount Hakusan, Honshu. Photo: Jennifer Leung/Oriental Bird Images.



5. Peregrine falcon flying into Custom House Tower, Boston.



6. Northern goshawk, Japan. Photo: Ksan/The Internet Bird Collection.

with hawk eagles. Hawk eagles are not too selective and will pursue the occasional scuttling rodent, a Japanese squirrel, or dormouse, all of which can be caught by their technique of flying low and pouncing or ambushing.¹³ Swooping down on the ground and delivering the death-blow out of sight did not provide aristocratic huntsman with sufficient sport or recreation, so hawk eagles were relegated to low-status falconers. Elites preferred their kills to be exciting mid-air exhibitions, but this was not an issue for those using these efficient predators to supplement protein-poor diets.¹⁴

Context as well as distribution is then another aid to identification in representations of raptors. The birds of prey portrayed on the wrists of daimyo and their falconers in aristocratic hunting parties or in the hawk houses attached to noble residences are most likely goshawks. The Northern goshawk is a Holarctic bird with a vast range across the whole Northern Hemisphere from America to East Asia. In Japan, it is an inhabitant of the wooded hills and mountainsides of Hokkaido and Honshu.¹⁵ Like all the woodland hawks, including the hawk eagle, it is adapted to hunt in similar fashion, “a quick dash from the wrist after prey at close range” as Helen Macdonald describes it in her bestseller, *H Is for Hawk*, itself a dialogue with T. H. White’s classic, *The Goshawk*.¹⁶ Elite hunting with raptors in Japan entirely favored the hawk, rather than that ultimate aerialist and *nec plus ultra* of falconry, the peregrine falcon. With the “widest natural range of any bird species” and found on all continents except Antarctica (there is even a pair that nests annually in Boston’s Custom House Tower, fig. 5), the peregrine offers tremendous entertainment, swooping down from great heights onto its prey, achieving speeds of one hundred miles or more per hour.¹⁷ Agility, speed, and grace, together with an amenable temperament, have long made peregrines a favorite the world over with falconers, but as Macdonald points out, “to fly falcons properly you need space: grouse moors, partridge manors, huge expanses of open farmland, things not easy to come by unless you’re wealthy or well-connected.”¹⁸ Mountainous Japan had little of vast open spaces, and though the peregrine is found in the archipelago as both a winter visitor and a rare breeding resident, it was impractical for sport or hunting. Instead it was the ornery goshawk, in Europe long discounted and associated with men of mean birth and manners, that fortune favored in Japan where its hunting style suited the terrain.¹⁹

Unlike the slower hawk eagle with its largely mammalian and reptilian diet, the goshawk, while also taking rodents (the unfortunate Japanese squirrel, *Sciurus lis*, seems to

figure on all large raptors’ menus), predominantly hunts birds, both in flight and on the ground. In Japan, pellet analysis has shown that goshawks hunt a variety of medium-sized birds including partridges, doves, thrushes, and jays.²⁰ At the other end of their Eurasian range, goshawks take “above all pigeons,” but also members of the crow family, grouse, and pheasants, “though lifting a bird as heavy as a pheasant is a struggle.” They may even hunt other birds of prey and their own species (woe to the smaller lighter males!).²¹ Historically, goshawks in Japan could be trained to take larger, more noble game, not only hares and pheasants but also geese, egrets, herons, and cranes. This was a feat, given the size, strength, and pugnacity of these sharp-beaked prey and the predators’ own natural limitations (in the British Isles the larger female goshawk is becoming heavier, the better to cope with her move to a diet of hares). In Tokugawa Japan, goshawks that could best such game were bestowed the purple leashes normally accorded to imperial birds, and their prestigious quarry were reserved as high-value gifts.²²

Like all successful predators, goshawks are instinctively wary of being over-matched and expending or even damaging themselves in an uneven contest against larger prey. Thus, Japanese falconers came to prefer eyasses, young hawks taken straight from the nest and brought up in captivity, to passage hawks and haggards, the older birds captured from the wild who had already learned to avoid such redoubtable prey.²³ This would be especially true for the endemic breeding subspecies of the Northern goshawk found in Japan, *Accipiter gentilis fujiiyamae* (fig. 6), which is both smaller and darker than its two congeners from the mainland, *A. g. schvedowi* and *A. g. albidus*, both of which have been recorded from the archipelago.

However, it may have been birds of these two larger subspecies that were initially used in Japanese falconry, because that art was first introduced into the country by Korean and later Chinese austringers. The daimyo of Tsushima accounted among his responsibilities overseeing the brisk import trade of goshawks from the Korean peninsula to supply daimyo with these larger hunters.²⁴ Apparently—and artworks would seem to confirm this—the larger, mainly Siberian *A. g. albidus* was the most prized because of its pale, almost white plumage in contrast to the blue or brown-gray back, barred white front, and characteristic white eyebrow of the two other, more typically marked subspecies.²⁵

If human culture and practice is one guide to identifying birds represented in works of art, it can also be confounding when it introduces subjects outside zoogeography. Similarly, adherence to convention or the use of foreign models can lead artists to represent subjects not actually seen or experienced. This was particularly true in the Muromachi period (1333–1575), when images of eagles in the wild and trained hawks were adopted and adapted from Chinese art. In the Edo period, when a series of goshawks was represented across the individual panels of a screen like so many birds in a mews (plates 13–14), pages in an album (plates 37–46), or pictured in a caged habitat (plate 35), it is likely that these were not all portraits of individual birds drawn from life but rather representations of one or a few birds, or drawn from conventional types. The naturalism sometimes evident shows that the artists were to some extent acquainted with and observant of the real thing. But Japanese patrons did not seek close studies of nature’s forms so much as a meeting of form with the animation that gave life to birds.²⁶

Japanese pictures of raptors in the Edo period, whether painted or printed, contrast markedly with European works of the same period. In Europe, the growth of ornithology and other natural sciences encouraged artists to precision in rendering form. In the first half of the nineteenth century, scientists gathered great collections of bird skins from around the world, committing bird forms to catalogues and great illustrated books. In the latter half of the century, the study of birds moved out of the museum and into the field aided by the mid-century development of binoculars. The popularity of birdwatching gave rise to “life studies” and what eventually became ethology and the science of animal behavior. A similar trend can be seen in bird art; the great illustrated ornithological works of earlier



7. Itō Jakuchū, *Eagle*, 1798. Hanging scroll, ink on silk, 40.2 x 16.1 in., Etsuko and Joe Price Collection.

(1716–1800) has a character and presence that calls to mind some of the owls painted for Gould's publications by Lear, an artist who did paint birds from life whenever he had the opportunity (fig. 8).²⁹ That hawks in Japan were often represented in lifelike poses, acting out their natural behavior, should come as no surprise, not only because artists would have seen live birds but also because their representation as living examples of elite possession, tied by their elegantly knotted jesses to indoor perches decorated with rich fabric hangings, was required to heighten the domestic luxury of the whole scene (plate 47). Eagles were another matter, creatures of inaccessible crags and mountain fastness. They have, however, always been malleable, readily transformed to bear meaning beyond their avian reality. The golden eagle, the original *Aquila*, the emblem of Roman legionaries, has been inspiration for Napoleonic eagles and, through heraldry, the double-headed symbol of the Hapsburgs and the Romanovs. The eagle's lack of distinctive markings—its characteristic golden nape is not usually visible, especially when seen, as most often, from

in the century by John James Audubon, Edward Lear, and John Gould gave life to their subjects by portraying them in action in a natural setting, an advance over predecessors whose subjects were obviously portrayed from stuffed skins, often several specimens to the page.²⁷

The great Western bird artists of the first half of the nineteenth century, whatever their prowess in the field and acuteness in observation, were still dependent on the gun to produce their accurate representations. They had to work from dead specimens to illustrate their subjects with the accuracy required for identification and differentiation of species. The story of Audubon's magnificent rendering of a golden eagle is instructive in this respect; in contrast to many of his subjects that he harvested with his own gun, the bird was presented to him alive and in fine fettle, but he had to kill it to make the necessary close observations. His attempt to gas it having failed, he resorted to sticking a long pin through its heart to rob it of its life without damaging it. He then achieved lifelike effects by rigging up the dead bird with wires in his lodgings.²⁸

The practices and preoccupations of contemporary Western bird artists should put our assessment of Japanese painters into perspective. Their concern was not to produce ornithologically identifiable birds, types, and standard representatives of species. Their birds were intended for other values and meanings. Skilled draftsmen and acute observers, Japanese painters infused their avian subjects with life and spirit beyond the models or conventions they were following. *Eagle* (fig. 7) by Itō Jakuchū

below in flight—led William McGillivray, the Scottish ornithologist, to identify it as “the black eagle” (and the Japanese subspecies, *A. c. japonica*, is smaller and darker) and may well have lent itself to symbolic inscription.³⁰ Other eagles, like Steller's sea eagles and all the great fish eagles, stay specific because of their distinctive bright yellow bills and white mantling. Modern Steller's sea eagles abound in Japan thanks to the development of the fishing industry that draws huge numbers; more than a third of the world's population now overwinters off the Shiretoko Peninsula.³¹ It is thus a very good symbol for a resurgent Japan. Like its North American relative, the bald eagle, that other fish eagle that serves as a national and collegiate symbol, it has all the power of a traditional eagle, as well as the freshness and distinctive character worthy of a nation. Was it an accident that Boston College's mascot has itself changed from its original golden eagle model to its present bald eagle incarnation? After all, a hawk is always a hawk, but an eagle is always something more.



8. Edward Lear (1821–88), *Eagle Owl*, 1832. John Gould, *The Birds of Europe*, vol. 1 (London: John Gould, 1837), plate 37.

- 1 Satoshi D. Ohdachi et al., eds., *The Wild Mammals of Japan*, 2nd ed. (Kyoto: Shoukadoh Book Sellers, 2015), 134–36, 240–47, 304–6, 314–16.
- 2 William Downes Austin, “The Aquarium and Winter House for Birds for the City of Boston,” *Brickbuilder* 24 (Feb. 1915): 47–50.
- 3 I am grateful to Christine Rutledge and Zoo New England for information about the Steller's sea eagle.
- 4 Tadao Shimba, *A Photographic Guide to the Birds of Japan and North-East Asia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 115–44; Mark Brazil, *Birds of East Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 18.
- 5 Brazil, *Birds of East Asia*, 9; Mark Brazil, *The Birds of Japan* (London: Christopher Helm, 1991), 1–13.
- 6 Victoria Weston's “The Sorting Hat: Identity and Meaning in Japanese Depictions of Raptors,” in this volume examines this quandary of raptor identification regarding works of art in the present exhibition.
- 7 See, for example, Sibley's remarks about the difficulties of identification in his popular American field guide, David A. Sibley, *The Sibley Field Guide to Birds of Eastern North America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 96, 100, 110. On reversed size sexual dimorphism, James M. Lockhart, *Raptor: A Journey through Birds* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017), 68–69.
- 8 James Ferguson-Lees and David A. Christie, *Raptors of the World* (London: Christopher Helm, 2005), 46–48.
- 9 Ferguson-Lees and Christie, 69–70.
- 10 Brazil, *Birds of Japan*, 93–96.
- 11 Brazil, 103.
- 12 Brazil, 103–4; Ohdachi et al., *Wild Mammals of Japan*, 136.

- 13 Brazil, *Birds of Japan*, 103–4; Lockhart, *Raptor*, 67, 71–72, 78–79. See also Yuiko Hotta’s “Predator or Protector?: The Meanings of the Eagle-and-Monkey Theme in Japan” in this volume for an exploration of sizes of monkey prey sought by eagles depicted in artwork of the Edo period (1615–1868).
- 14 E. W. Jameson Jr., *The Hawking of Japan: The History and Development of Japanese Falconry* (Davis: University of California Press, 1962), 5–6, 11–14, 73–76.
- 15 Brazil, *Birds of Japan*, 100.
- 16 Helen Macdonald, *H Is for Hawk* (New York: Grove, 2014), 22 for quote, 26–31.
- 17 Ferguson-Lees and Christie, *Raptors of the World*, 310–12.
- 18 Macdonald, *H Is for Hawk*, 22.
- 19 Macdonald, 20–24; Jameson, *Hawking of Japan*, 9–10, 14.
- 20 Brazil, *Birds of Japan*, 100.
- 21 Lockhart, *Raptor*, 147.
- 22 Rachel Saunders, “Pursuits of Power: Falconry in Edo Period Japan,” *Orientations* 36, no. 2 (Mar. 2005): 82–83; Jameson, *Hawking of Japan*, 57–58, 65–66, 70–73.
- 23 Saunders, 89; Jameson, 4, 39–41, 66.
- 24 Jameson, *Hawking of Japan*, 1–6, 10. See also Hae Yeun Kim, “Hawk Diplomacy between Japan and Korea,” in this catalogue.
- 25 Saunders, “Pursuits of Power,” 84–92; Jameson, *Hawking of Japan*, 5–6.
- 26 Harold P. Stern, *Birds, Beasts, Blossoms, and Bugs: The Nature of Japan* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1976), 29–32, 65–66; Hou-mei Sung, *Decoded Messages: The Symbolic Language of Chinese Animal Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 7–30; Saunders, “Pursuits of Power,” 84–92.
- 27 There are many histories of ornithology. See, for useful synopses, Valérie Chansigaud, *The History of Ornithology* (London: New Holland, 2009), esp. 97–206.
- 28 Duff Hart-Davis, *Audubon’s Elephant: The Story of John James Audubon’s Epic Struggle to Publish “The Birds of America”* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), 195–98. See also the notes on plates 105, 106, and 108 in Roger Tory Peterson and Virginia Marie Peterson, *Audubon’s Birds of America* (New York: Abbeville, 1981) on the rarity of golden eagles and his confusion between them and immature bald eagles.
- 29 On Itō Jakuchū, Stern, *Birds, Beasts, Blossoms, and Bugs*, 66, 104–5, and plate 49; I cannot, however, agree with Stern’s identification of the bird as a serpent-eagle. On the Soga family of hawk and eagle artists, Stern, 78–80 and plate 31, and generally, Saunders, “Pursuits of Power,” 84–92. Again, there are many books on Lear; see, for example, the précis of his career and owl prints, Chansigaud, *History of Ornithology*, 171–74.
- 30 Lockhart, *Raptor*, 66–67.
- 31 Brazil, *Birds of Japan*, 94–96.

Predator or Protector?: The Meanings of the Eagle-and-Monkey Theme in Japan

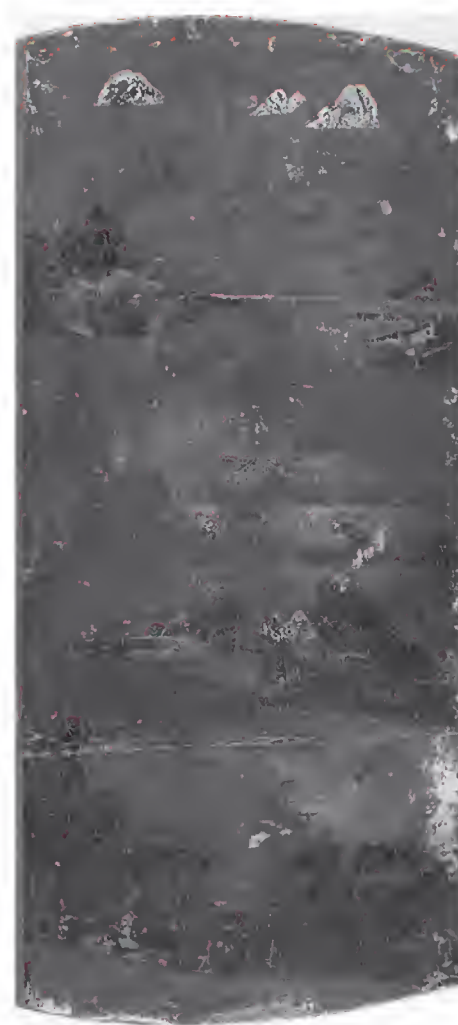
Yuiko Hotta

AS THE LARGEST AND MOST COMMANDING OF RAPTORS, the eagle has long been used as a symbol around the globe. This includes continental Asia, and in China, eagles combined with other raptors to form a subject for paintings that emphasized their nobility and hunting prowess.¹ In Japan, however, the eagle was less of an everyday reality because only one species lives there, the golden eagle, at high altitudes and away from human settlement.² Despite this, the eagle motif became firmly planted in Japanese commoner culture of the Edo period (1615–1868) in the form of a pairing with monkeys. Recent scholarship demonstrates how this pairing derives from two popular proverbs that position the eagle as a predator. However, not all images conform to this essential concept, and some seem to show its very opposite: the eagle as perhaps protector of the monkey. This paper will look at both sorts of compositions, highlighting the subtle differences that make a second interpretation necessary and pointing to possible roots for this alternate reading.

RAPTOR IMAGERY COMES TO JAPAN

Raptors first entered Japanese culture through Japan's wider engagement with China. Extant sources suggest that the image of the raptor arrived first, followed centuries later by literary references when Japan's publishing industry began to grow in the Edo period. One of these early images appears as painted decoration on the front of a four-string lute in the Shōsōin Collection in Nara (figs. 1.1–2). The Shōsōin is a repository of fine art objects donated to the Tōdaiji Temple in 756 by the widow of Emperor Shōmu (701–56). In this period, Japanese elites turned to the continent for all manner of luxury goods where their production was far in advance of Japan. Since its contents have been maintained intact, the Shōsōin provides a time capsule of both fine and daily objects used by the pinnacle of eighth-century Japanese society.

In the case of the lute, the leather plectrum guard is painted with a white raptor pursuing a pair of ducks. The history of this small painting points to the vagaries of the raptor category, for it has carried the title *White Eagle Pursuing Prey* even though the bird bears features common to hawks. Historically, Chinese art treated raptors—eagles, hawks, and falcons—as a single image type, making little to no distinction among them.³ The lute, thought to be a Chinese import, demonstrates this ambiguity. The basic composition of raptor pursuing prey in a landscape persists in Japan into modern times.



1.1–2. Leather plaque painting on a short-necked lute and its outline drawing, c. 8th century. Color, gold leaf, and oil on leather, Shōsōin Collection, Nara.

RAPTOR IMAGERY AND SAMURAI

Sport hawking enjoyed some popularity with Japan's aristocratic nobles of the Heian period (794–1185), but its importance blossomed with the rise of samurai leadership and culture. By the Muromachi period (1333–1575) samurai elites were collecting both fine hawks and paintings of hawks. Samurai preferred schools of painting whose methods and subject categories derived from Chinese sources. Therefore, raptor paintings in Japan were not confined to Japan's hawks alone, but followed Chinese precedent.⁴ It is only in the Edo period that clear distinctions emerge that assigned specific features to depictions of eagles.

In both China and Japan, raptors hunting prey is a familiar motif. Such works show the birds hunting prey smaller than or equal to their own size, so it is notable that in the Edo period a new combination develops that pairs a raptor, specifically an eagle (*washi*) with a monkey or a monkey family. This appears to be largely a Japanese combination, with only one reference to the type in Chinese painting. This is in the Song dynasty *Xuanhe hua pu* [Xuanhe catalogue of paintings], c. 1120, which lists works owned by Emperor Huizong (1082–1135). That one reference is described only as a “painting of eagle and monkey” (鷹猴圖一) by Tang Xiya (dates unknown) of the Northern Song dynasty, and the work itself is not extant.⁵ A much later handscroll, *Searching the Mountains for Demons* (搜山圖) by Zheng Zhong (active c. 1612–48), touches the topic in only a peripheral manner by showing a demon with monkey legs and tail pursued by a raptor (fig. 2).

In the Edo period, the founder of the Tokugawa lineage of shoguns, Ieyasu (1543–1616), owned a painting of a raptor with a monkey. Ieyasu was a hawking enthusiast because of the sport's martial character and the physical exercise it offered.⁶ His painting features a hawk on a wintry pine tree looking down at a monkey that is trying to hide under a cliff (fig. 3); this anonymous work is now in the Kunōzan Tōshōgū Museum in Shizuoka, which preserves much of the Tokugawa shogunal collection.⁷ In this case, the composition could well have had personal meaning for Ieyasu since he succeeded Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98) as ruler of Japan, and one of the popular nicknames for Hideyoshi was “little monkey.”



2. Zheng Zhong, detail of *Searching the Mountains for Demons* (*Soushan*), late Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Handscroll, ink and color on paper, 10.6 in. x 27 ft., 9.5 in. (overall), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Bequest of Dorothy Graham Bennett, 1991.14.

PAIRING EAGLES WITH MONKEYS THROUGH PROVERBS

The specific imagery of eagle with monkey was a feature of Edo's commoner culture. This combination occurs in personal ornament such as netsuke, in woodblock prints, and in the architectural ornament of some eighteenth-century Shinto shrines. At the same time, distinguishing among raptors in writing gained strength as growth in the publication industry brought out dictionaries of the Chinese language to respond to heightened interest in classical Chinese literature.⁸ Where paintings of raptors had historically blurred distinctions among them, words began to show greater clarity of type. Different categories of *taka* (hawk) are identified in Japan by the tenth century in dictionaries.⁹

The Japanese monkey-and-eagle imagery appears most frequently in ukiyo-e woodblock prints. Okumura Masanobu's *Eagle, Monkey, and Pine* (fig. 4) is typical of the most common composition: an eagle standing on a pine branch, looking down at a monkey who cowers in fear. The print is titled in the upper left: うゑ見ぬわし (“the eagle never looks up”), a proverb that appears often in early modern Japanese literature. The image shows the opportunity of prey before him, but also indicates that the raptor need not guard himself from attack—he is secure as the dominant predator. Imahashi Riko's research demonstrates that the transfer of this saying to images is specific to the seventeenth century and early woodblock prints.¹⁰ Imahashi points to another such proverb in this period: 鷲の見た小猿同然 (“trapped like a little monkey found by an eagle”).

Masanobu's print names the predator as an “eagle,” or *washi*, but the artist pictured what was observable in Japan, a *kumataka* or hawk eagle (*Nisaeetus nipalensis*). Hawk eagles were used alongside goshawks for sport hunting, but only rarely because their method of attack was to trap prey at ground level and dispatch it out of sight. The hawk eagle is distinctive in Japan in its diet, which, like the rare golden eagle, included mammals and reptiles. Since the hawk eagle prefers woodlands, it shares its habitat with a wide range of animals that includes Japan's native monkey, the macaque. Hawk eagles hunt monkeys generally equal to or smaller than their own size and are the macaques' main predator.¹¹

In the early seventeenth century, the two proverbs pairing eagle and monkey gained currency as part of a broadening vocabulary for describing human nature in different aspects. In this period, classic texts became widely available to the reading public thanks to growth in the woodblock printing industry. One example is the fourteenth-century *Gikeiki* [Chronicle of Yoshitsune], which saw renewed popularity in seventeenth-century printed form. In one episode, the hero, Yoshitsune, receives a beautiful and well-situated home as a gift. The phrase “the eagle who never looks up” sums up his feelings:

I see a form like a castle, protected in front by the Koromo River and Hidehira's [his friend's] house on the east. What is more, mountains running along the west make it like a cavern. It is thus built like a citadel, and I am like the eagle who never looks up.¹²



3. *Eagle Looking Down at a Monkey under a Cliff*, 16th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, Kunōzan Tōshōgū Museum, Shizuoka.

In this instance, Yoshitsune is so well protected he need not fear attack. At the same time, the phrase carries the sense of prestigious status.

The proverb was used in common storytelling as well. In the anonymous *Zeraku Monogatari* 是楽物語 [Tales of Zeraku], the same phrase is used to describe excessive pride. This was a popular work, written in the phonetic Japanese syllabary that required no knowledge of complex Chinese characters. In one adventure, Zeraku meets a man whose wife has tried—unsuccessfully—to poison him. Zeraku encapsulates the story as follows:

As I heard it, the wife was having an affair with another man, so like an eagle that never looks up, she tried to kill her husband, which is a twisted story.¹³

Here the phrase suggests the wife's supreme hauteur in attempting homicide to have her way, fearless of repercussions.

In both stories, the phrase describes a sense of superiority and security. In the second instance, though, the protagonist is also a predator, which is always the case in woodblock prints of eagles and monkeys. Returning to Masanobu's print, it is this Zeraku story that helps decode the image. Masanobu's eagle adopts an extraordinary pose: it stands with only one foot on its branch, wings raised. It is as though the raptor is so certain of itself, it need not be concerned with stabilizing its footing. Instead, it seems to dance its superiority as the monkey fruitlessly tries to hide itself under a pathetic camouflage of thin oak branches.

This theme was sufficiently common that it appears in netsuke designs as well. Most show the eagle, again the form adhering to that of the hawk eagle, attacking the monkey. Some of them are quite violent, as in one where an eagle sinks his beak into a screaming monkey (plate 23). In another, an eagle grasps a monkey in its claws, the monkey's teeth bared in pain (plate 22). Here, the eagle is huge compared to its prey, which follows the hawk eagle habit of equal or smaller-sized victims. Netsuke show eagles attacking a variety of prey, such as octopi (plate 27) and giant fish. The story in all cases is the same: the eagle is predator and superior, and willing to dine on any prey it can take down.

IMAGERY TRANSFER FROM HIGH CULTURE TO COMMONERS

Woodblock-printed painting manuals helped disseminate the eagle-and-monkey theme. The practice of copying model images, or *funpon*, was the cornerstone of Kano training in painting. The Kano School was a family-based painting guild with a hierarchical structure ranging from elite to common. Elite Kano served the Tokugawa shoguns and other high-ranked samurai lords. Lesser studios and their students catered to the buying public. All Kano painting students used *funpon* images to learn the fundamentals of the school style. In this way, Kano painting retained some recognizable features despite its many and diverse practitioners and maintained standards of quality. The same printing boom that expanded



5. Tachibana Morikuni, "Washi," from *Ehon shahō bukuro*, 1720. Woodblock printed book, ink on paper, 9 x 6.3 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Jared K. Morse in memory of Charles J. Morse, 2000.1047.1–10.

bamboo establish the outdoor setting, allowing the eagle's form to dominate the picture page. Morikuni labels the page simply "washi" thus presenting this as the most representative example of the type. No longer simply the "eagle that never looks up," this is an "eagle that has found a baby monkey" and an eagle in full possession of his prize.

The motif became sufficiently established that nineteenth-century print artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1798–1861) could use it to layer significance onto his rendering of *Zhang Heng, the Boatman* from his series *One Hundred and Eight Heroes of the Popular Shuichuzhuan* (fig. 6). Zhang Heng is one of the characters in this Chinese classic text, a common laborer who avenges the murder of his younger brother. In Kuniyoshi's print, Zhang Heng triumphs over his armored foe though he wears only the loincloth of his trade. Zhang's torso is covered in one massive tattooed composition of an eagle menacing a monkey. Zhang's body becomes the eagle, his spread arms bearing the wings of the eagle. The eagle's head is over Zhang's heart, screaming its fury. A monkey cowers at Zhang's midsection, its arms raised to cover its face. In the contest between Zhang and his foe, Zhang is the triumphant.

the audience for classic and contemporary literature impacted painting education, for a few of the non-elite "town Kano" painters produced manuals of model sketches teaching readers how to paint. Tachibana Morikuni (1679–1748) was one of these authors who produced several such works, including the *Ehon shahō bukuro* [Sack of treasures of sketching: A picture book] of 1720.¹⁴ Model sketches from this collection show a range of figural subjects in both human and animal form. Among these is his version of the eagle-and-monkey theme.

Morikuni's model image is violent (fig. 5). A great eagle has captured a hapless monkey, claws clutching the monkey's belly and head, talons piercing the inside of the monkey's mouth. The landscape is minimal because this is the accomplished act, not the prelude. Only a rock and a bit of

Predator or Protector?: The Meanings of the Eagle-and-Monkey Theme in Japan



6. Utagawa Kuniyoshi, *Zhang Heng, the Boatman* (*Senkaji Chōō*), from *One Hundred and Eight Heroes of the Popular Shuichuzhuan*, c. 1927–30. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14.3 x 9.3 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Maxim Karolik, 64.797.

phant eagle, one leg planted, the other raised so as to show the sole of the foot. His prey is undignified: his features play upon conventions of ugliness and his mouth is fully open in screaming, signaling his complete loss of composure. Kuniyoshi returned to this character a number of times. Other versions tattoo the boatman's body with dragons, lions, and other ciphers for strength. Here, thanks to its dissemination in popular culture, Kuniyoshi can deploy the eagle-and-monkey theme in full knowledge that its implications would be correctly understood by viewers. Zhang is "the eagle who never looks up," while his foe is "trapped like a little monkey found by an eagle."

BUDDHIST USES OF EAGLE IMAGERY

These proverbs cannot illuminate all uses of the eagle-and-monkey motif, however. Eagles on their own or with a monkey antagonist also appear in religious imagery. In the same period that Chinese images of eagles and other raptors were becoming known in Japan, Buddhist sources in their Chinese-language form also named the eagle. One famous site in the biography of the historical Buddha Sakyamuni was Vulture Peak (靈鷲山) which, when rendered into Chinese, used the character that is commonly read as "eagle," or *washi* in Japanese, 鷲. At this site, the Buddha gave some of his most important sermons, which were later transcribed into sutra texts. "Eagle Peak," then, came to symbolize Buddha lands or the state of Buddhahood, as in the expression "the pure land of Eagle Peak." In this context, the eagle is sanctified by its position in Buddhist teachings and symbolism.

Medieval Buddhist poems in Japan reflect this meaning. In the nineteenth volume of the imperial poetry anthology *Senzai wakashū*, compiled in 1187 by Fujiwara no Shunzei (1114–1204), we see the eagle deployed in a sacred context:

One who fancies that
the moon on Eagle [Vulture/*washi*] Peak
has set beyond the mountain edge,
has a mind which is puzzled
by the darkness of ignorance.¹⁵

This poem refers to the sixteenth chapter of *The Lotus Sutra*, where the Buddha reveals his cosmic character:

When living beings have become truly faithful,
honest and upright, gentle in intent,
single-mindedly desiring to see the Buddha,
not hesitating even if it costs them their lives,
then I and the assembly of monks appear together on Holy Eagle Peak.¹⁶

Japanese paintings of this *Lotus Sutra* episode provide an image of the mountain peak with raptor beak and eyes, as in the thirteenth-century *Illustrated Scroll of the Lotus Sutra*. Here, the mountain has clear avian beak and eyes, but again shows the general blurring of specificity in identifying and depicting the large hunting birds.

This sacred connotation for eagles likely led to the alternate imagery of "being carried by the eagle," which also emerged in medieval and early modern Japan. According to Oya Taeko, historical stories featuring "being carried by an eagle" gained prominence in Edo-period plays and literature.¹⁷ One example addressed the legend of the monk Rōben (689–773), who founded the Tōdaiji Temple in the Nara period (710–94). When he was a small child, he was carried away by an eagle while his mother was working on a farm. The eagle, however, bears no ill intent toward the child and instead carries him to the great monk Gien (643–728), who then trains him as a Buddhist monk. In this case, the story imparts spiritual knowledge to the eagle, who identifies the potential in the child and

delivers him to the appropriate teacher.¹⁸

EAGLE AS PROTECTOR: EAGLES AND MONKEYS IN SHINTO ARCHITECTURE

The eagle-and-monkey theme also appears in syncretic religious architecture of the Edo period. At the Menuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Temple, Saitama Prefecture, the Kangiin Shōdendō hall bears a decorative panel displaying an eagle carrying a monkey. The temple was originally founded by Saitō Sanemori (1111–83), who enshrined Daishō Kangiten (大聖歡喜天) there in 1179. Over time, the temple also included divinities of Shinto origin. The construction of the Kangiin Shōdendō hall began in 1735 and was completed in 1760. Kangiten, the divinity venerated in this hall, is one of the class of Buddhist divinities ranked "guardian king," and was originally the elephant-headed Hindu divinity Ganesh. The temple became exclusively Buddhist in 1868 with the promulgation of the imperial edict on the separation of Shinto and Buddhism. It underwent a major preservation and repainting project that was completed in 2010,¹⁹ and the whole temple was designated a national treasure in 2012.

The density of temple decoration overall conforms to eighteenth-century trends. During the Edo period the Tokugawa government placed strict restrictions on domestic travel as a means for controlling the population. One permitted form of travel, though, was religious pilgrimage. Temples and shrines filled the role of destinations for pleasure travel, and pilgrimage routes blossomed in this period. What is more, the sustained peace of the Tokugawa era permitted expanded prosperity reaching down to commoners, who could now afford forms of leisure. Religious sites catered to such visitors with ever more elaborate decorative schemes to dazzle the eyes and gain reputations as satisfying destinations. Tourist spending benefited the religious sites, while also allowing them to promote worship of the enshrined divinities. The architectural décor of famous destination temples and shrines thus became entertainingly decorative at the same time as it was didactic.²⁰

The exterior of the Kangiin Shōdendō hall is adorned with painted wooden relief sculptures featuring numerous auspicious motifs, such as Chinese lions, dragons, and Dao-



7. Decorative door panels with eagle-and-monkey scenes, 1735–60. Carved wood with colored lacquer, Menuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Temple, Saitama Prefecture.

ist immortals. Included in this sculptural program are thirteen small monkeys beneath one of the handrails in various postures, as well as eagles. One of the door panels features the eagle-and-monkey combination (fig. 7). The eagle grasps the monkey in his claws, carrying him rather than attacking him, a composition that aligns with the Buddhist eagle who acts from higher knowledge.²¹ That a monkey should benefit from the eagle's protective attention rather than a human makes sense given the religious uses of monkeys and the specific context of this temple. In Shinto, monkeys are messengers of Shinto divinities, including Sannō's sacred monkeys at Hie Shrine, and elsewhere. Monkeys figure into Zen Buddhist imagery as symbols of man's delusion, thus making monkeys apt objects of divine care.

At the Menuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Temple itself, oral tradition confers the role of sacred protector on the eagle, which is linked to the temple divinity Kangiten.²² A carved panel shows an eagle rescuing a monkey who is in peril of falling to his death in the pool of water below. In Zen Buddhism, the monkey is said to represent man, who needs the Kangiten to rescue him. Several authors have discussed the use of eagle-and-monkey imagery at this temple, though as yet no source for the story has been identified.²³ Native Japanese monkeys lived freely on temple grounds into the early twentieth century, where they were objects of special care and even given graves upon their deaths. The Menuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Temple is not a unique instance of this motif; it has been noted at the circa early seventeenth-century Torioi Kannon Nyōhōji Temple in Fukushima Prefecture, and likely occurs elsewhere, but this is a subject of current research.

Netsuke design offers potential support for recognizing the monkey-saving-eagle as a distinct theme. Many netsuke as well as inro carry designs of auspicious meaning. Depictions of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, for instance, are common netsuke and inro motifs. Hawks figure among netsuke as winter motifs and harbingers of the New Year's annual renewal. The eagle-and-monkey motif was an established netsuke design, and typically these show the eagle attacking the monkey, as noted above (plate 22). But other examples of eagles and monkeys do not fit neatly into the theme of predation, and if we admit some popular status to the protector eagle, these objects begin to make sense. One netsuke in a private collection clearly shows an eagle actually carrying a monkey, not attacking it, its wings open and its tail feathers fanned in flight. Another is even more compelling, for it shows a monkey in the grasp of a great eagle claw (plate 28). The monkey is cocooned in the claw, one of its arms grasping the claw as a child might hold on to the arm of a parent. The monkey's facial expression is entirely absent of fear.

One final netsuke suggests the two sides of the eagle in popular Edo-period culture. This one is only an eagle claw (plate 29). The talons are razor sharp, the clenched toes like a fist. Eagle imagery in this period celebrates the raptor's power as a superior predator in relationship to a variety of potential prey in proportion to its size. But in threatening or attacking a monkey, a relatively large and weighty mammal, the eagle is invested with great strength and cunning. That single claw netsuke might well express the power its owner desired, but it might also suggest the saving force of an eagle capable of taking a child, or man's surrogate, a monkey, to safety or enlightenment.

- 1 This approach aligns with current taxonomy, as hawks, eagles, and falcons are all members of the same order, *Accipitriformes*. Hirozo Maki, *Washitaka Hayabusa shibetsu zukan* [Identification guide: *Accipitriformes* and *Falconiformes*] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2012).
- 2 Rory Browne, "Raptors and Realism: The Real Birds of Japanese Art," in this volume.
- 3 Hou-mei Sung's work shows that the Chinese word *ying* 鷹 covers eagles, hawks, and falcons without specification, "Eagle and Hawk," chap. 1 in *Decoded Messages: The Symbolic Language of Chinese Animal Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).
- 4 See Victoria Weston, "The Sorting Hat: Identity and Meaning in Japanese Depictions of Raptors" in this catalogue for a broad discussion of raptor painting in Japan.
- 5 Pan Yungao, ed., *Xuanhe hua pu* (Changsha: Hunan mei shu chu ban she, 1999), 363.
- 6 *Zoku Kokushi taikei: Tokugawa jikki dai kyūkan* [Omnibus of Japanese history, continued: True record of Tokugawa], vol. 9, online edition (Tokyo: Keizai Zasshisha, 1902–04).
- 7 Hirose Shizumu, *Mono to ningen no bunkashi 34: Saru* [A cultural history of objects and humanity 34: Monkey] (Tokyo: Hosei University, 1979), 174–75.
- 8 Tōdō Akiyasu, *Sonshi, Goshi nit suite* [On Sonshi and Goshi], trans. Tōdō Akiyasu (Tokyo: Gakushū Kenkyūsha, 1982), 24.
- 9 Mabuchi Kazuo, ed., *Koshahon wamyō ruijū shō shūsei, dai ni bu* [Old manuscript copy compendium of the annotated classification of Japanese names (of things), section two] (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2008), 165–66.
- 10 Imahashi Riko, *Edo no kachōga: hakubutsugaku o meguru bunka to sono hyōshō* [Bird-and-flower paintings of Edo: Culture and expression in natural history] (Tokyo: Sukaido, 1995), 302.
- 11 Browne, "Raptors and Realism."
- 12 My translation. "城の体を見るに、前には衣川、東は秀衡が館なり。西はたうくが窟とて、然るべき山に続きたり。斯様に城郭を構へて、上見ぬ鷲のごとくにて御座しけ。" *Gikeiki* [Chronicle of Yoshitsune], vol. 7, lines 1615–45. Kindle.
- 13 My translation. "後に聞侍れば蜜通せる男のありて、此本の男を毒害して上見ぬわしと誇らんとの奸しき謀事にてありしと也。" *Zeraku Monogatari* [Tales of Zeraku], in *Kana-zōshishū* [Collection of books in kana] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991), 221.
- 14 Brenda Jordan, "Copying from Beginning to End? Student Life in the Kano School," in *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting*, ed. Brenda Jordan and Victoria Weston (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 35.
- 15 English translation from: Manabu Watanabe, "Religious Symbolism in Saigyō's Verses: A Contribution to Discussions of His Views on Nature and Religion," *History of Religions* 26, no. 4 (May 1987): 395.
- 16 Kumārajīva, *The Lotus Sutra*, trans. Burton Watson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 230.
- 17 Ōya Taeko, "Nansō satomi hakkenden no ōwashi" [Large eagle in *The Eight Dog Chronicles*], in *Chōjūchūgyo no bungakushi* [Literary history of birds, animals, insects, and fish], vol. 2, ed. Suzuki Ken'ichi (Tokyo: Miyai Shoten, 2011), 326.
- 18 Kokan Shiren, *Kundoku genkō shakusho jōkan* [Japanese reading of Chinese characters in Buddhist texts of the Genkō era], vol. 1, ed. Fujita Takuji (Kyoto: Zen Bunka Kenkyūjo, 2011), 39.
- 19 "Konryū to sono haikai" [Architecture and its context], in *Jūyō bunkazai Kangiin Shōdendō hozon shūri kōji hōkokusho, honbunhen* [Report on the preservation and restoration of the Important Cultural Property, Kangiin Shōdendō: Main text] (Tokyo: Bunkazai Kenzōbutsu Hozon Gijutsu Kyōkai, 2011), 153.
- 20 Mitsui Wataru, "Minshū no kenchiku—minka machi name shaji kannai" [Vernacular architecture: Homes, city streets, shrine, and temple grounds], in *Nihon bijutsu zenshū* [Compendium of Japanese art], vol. 15, ed. Tsuji Nobuo, Izumi Takeo, Yamashita Yūji, and Itakura Masaaki (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2012).
- 21 Nakayama Sōta argues that many of the relief sculpture compositions rely on Tachibana Morikuni's painting manual, but Morikuni's model image graphically shows the eagle attacking, which is not what is happening here. Nakayama Sōta, "Utagawa Kuniyoshi kenkyū—jūkyūseiki ukiyo-e ni okeru bunka kōshō no katachi" [Research on Utagawa Kuniyoshi: The shaping of the culture of nineteenth-century ukiyo-e] (PhD diss., Kansai University, 2014), 17–19, <http://>

hdl.handle.net/10112/8679.

- 22 Iiyama Yoshimasa, *Nihontō no sōgōbi: shokunintachi no seika* [The beauty of Japanese swords: The flowering of the craftsmen] (Tokyo: Ribun Shuppan, 2017), 210.
- 23 The legend of the eagle saving the monkey in the Menuuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Temple is published in Abe Shūji, *Kenchiku yōshiki kara mita Shōdenzan honden no tokuchō to hyōka* [Characteristics and evaluation of the architectural style of the main shrine of the Shōdenzan] (Kumagaya: Kumagaya City Library, 2013), 153, and Kubodera Shigeru and Wakabayashi Jun, *Menuuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Shōdendō: chōkoku to saishiki no bi* [Menuuma Shōdenzan Kangiin Shōdendō: Beauty of its sculptures and color] (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2011), 50.

Predator or
Protector?: The
Meanings of
the Eagle-
and-Monkey
Theme in
Japan

Hawk Diplomacy between Japan and Korea

Hae Yeun Kim

IN EAST ASIA, HAWKS¹ HAVE BEEN SYMBOLS OF POWER AND social status since hawking (also known as falconry) was an exclusive activity reserved for privileged members of society such as aristocrats, military elites, and the imperial family. Not only are they the dominant predators of the sky, but they are difficult and costly to capture and train. In Chinese, “hawk” (*ying* 鷹) and “hero” (*ying* 英) are homonymic, leading to symbolic uses of the bird from the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) onward.² Additionally, hawk paintings in China could symbolize sovereigns thanks to the prestige of white hawk paintings associated with Emperor Huizong (r. 1100–25). Given the fact that military elites held political power in Japan, it is not hard to imagine why numerous Japanese daimyo (domain rulers) thought highly of hawks and sought exceptional individuals for hunting.

Chinese cultural trends had far reaching impacts throughout East Asia, and much scholarship in art history has targeted how China has informed the art of its immediate neighbors, particularly Japan. However, if we look outside this model, we see that images of hawks in Korea connect closely with Japanese examples thanks to artistic and diplomatic contacts. Vestiges of this connection are apparent in works in the present exhibition. Supplementing stylistic analysis are several extant documents written by Korean officials and scholars during the Joseon dynasty (1392–1910). These reveal preferences and offer evaluations by Japanese daimyo both on the actual and the virtual: real hawks and hawk paintings. This article will focus on how Korean hawk paintings connect to the larger East Asian context. In particular, it will analyze how Japanese hawk paintings link to Korean works and culture by exploring historical documents as well as Japanese perceptions of hawks.

JAPANESE HAWK PAINTINGS AND KOREA

Written records assessing hawk paintings date back centuries in China. The *Lidai minghua ji* [Record of famous paintings through the ages] written by Zhang Yanyuan (c. 815–after 875) includes a vivid wall painting portraying a hawk made during the Northern Qi dynasty (550–77).³ In the Tang dynasty (618–907), paintings in this genre fell into two sub-categories: trained hawks used for hunting or as “imperial pets” and wild birds living in nature.⁴ One of the earliest documents recording paintings of hawks on perches goes back to the Tang dynasty as evidenced in a poem by Du Fu (712–70).⁵ Written records from this time forward make clear that Chinese artists pictorialized hawks as well as other birds tethered to perches.⁶ Korean and Japanese artists made many such paintings, especially

those with meticulously decorated perches.

Of the two main types of hawk depiction, the Edo-period (1615–1868) folding screens from the Billingsley Company exemplify hawks tethered to perches with elaborately tied cords (plates 13–14). These perches recall extant Korean paintings that feature similarly intricate ones rendered in a fairly flat and decorative style.⁷ Although the Billingsley perches are rather subdued compared to these Korean examples, they clearly show affinities in ornamental traits. Furthermore, individual hawks displayed on these screens bear striking similarities to paintings attributed to famed Korean animal painter Yi Am (1507–66), a member of the Joseon royal family. The Billingsley hawk shown on the second panel from the right of the left screen (plate 13) is distinctly similar in form to two paintings attributed to Yi (figs. 1–2). All three are viewed from the rear and are composed with a strong curve running from the top of the head into the profile of the body. The forward-facing hawk on the second panel from the left of the right screen (plate 14) shows powerful affinities to another painting by Yi in the profile head, raised foot, and full chest crested with darker feathers at the shoulder (fig. 3).

One impediment to understanding how Korean and Japanese hawk paintings connect is the assignment of Korean works to Chinese artists. *Hawk*, figure 3, is in a private collection and bears a solid attribution to Yi Am. Its comparable image in Japan (fig. 4), has been catalogued as an anonymous work of the Chinese Ming dynasty, but recent stylistic analysis by Itakura Masaaki suggests it was possibly by a Korean artist.⁸ *Falcon on a Perch* in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 1) had previously been attributed to Chinese Yuan dynasty painter Xu Ze by both the museum and Hou-mei Sung based on an inscription on its wooden storage box reading “Hawk by Xu Ze.”⁹ But, in *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600*, the painting is twice attributed to Yi Am based on stylistic analysis and its six seals in the upper left of the painting.¹⁰ The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston now supports this identification. This painting is extremely close to a second work in the Nihon Mingeikan (Japan Folk Crafts Museum) collection that is accepted as the work of Yi Am (fig. 2).

The subject of tethered hawks has generated types so consistent they amount to a kind of iconography circulating over centuries. In Japan, many artists painted hawks in the two postures discussed above: from the rear, and from the front, head turned. The Billingsley screens, thought to be nineteenth century, show the span of centuries connecting Korean and Japanese hawk paintings. That they bear seals not yet read owes to their singularity and likely authorship outside top-tier painting circles. The screens reflect a process over time: high-level artists study and propagate rare foreign paintings that, in time, work their



1. Attrib. Yi Am, *Falcon on a Perch*, 16th century. Hanging scroll, ink, color, and gold on silk, 38.6 x 21.3 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, 11.6164.



2. Yi Am, *Falcon on a Perch*, 16th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 34.4 x 21.2 in., Nihon Mingekan, Tokyo.



3. Yi Am, *Hawk*, 16th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 34.4 x 21.2 in., private collection. From Lee, "Duseongnyeong Yi Am," 768; Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 139.



4. Formerly attrib. Huizong, *Falcon on a Perch*, 15th–16th century. Hanging scroll, ink and color on silk, 40.2 x 21 in., Shōden Eigenin, Kyoto.

way into broader circulation. Famous artists could gain access to collections of rare foreign paintings, not town painters, but the close fidelity of form to foreign and elite painting shows how widespread the motifs had become. Their transfer to other mediums such as woodblock prints and objects does this as well, and Torii Kiyonaga's c. 1786 *Lucky New Year Dreams: Fuji, Falcon, and Eggplant* (fig. 5) is a case in point. This is a New Year's print, featuring imagery discussed in Victoria Weston's "The Sorting Hat: Identity and Meaning in Japanese Depictions of Raptors" in this volume. Here only a single hawk is shown, yet the artist pictures it from behind. Works like the Billingsley screens featuring twelve individuals must of necessity embrace variety to enliven the whole, but in the print, it is an active choice. While Kiyonaga's bird lacks the marked curve from head to outline, its position is fully consonant with the types seemingly established in Yi Am's work. Scholarship on the distribution of Yi Am's work is still in its infancy, but these stylistic affinities as well as the presence of Yi Am works in Japanese collections enable consideration of Korean paintings as models for Japanese artists who may have thought they were Chinese and therefore culturally authoritative.¹¹

Looking to Korean painting as inspiration for Japanese types is further indicated in the development of specific hawk types. Individual tethered hawks per panel, whether a single bird on a hanging scroll or in series as with folding screens, date back to the early to mid-sixteenth century. Documents, however, written by Japanese Zen monk intellectuals indicate that the tradition had begun even before then.¹² This type in Korea dates to at least 1427, when King Sejong (r. 1418–50) ordered his court painters in the Royal Bureau

of Painting to portray seven different kinds of *haedongcheong* and *songgol* falcons so that hunters looking to collect them would have close visual guides.¹³ These falcons were prized in Korea for sport and were intended as diplomatic gifts for China. No Korean hawk paintings in folding screen format survive, but documents indicate their production while later prints record the appearance of hawk paintings in hanging scroll format (figs. 6.1–2).¹⁴ Given this background, it is striking that Japanese painters developed hawk screens that individualize each hawk, one to a panel, as though cataloguing types.

Yi Am's impact on Japanese art is reflected in *Tan'yū shukuzu*, a collection of small copies of paintings by Kano Tan'yū (1602–74). Five of Tan'yū's copies reflect knowledge of Yi Am's hawk paintings. Three are a series, with drawn Yi Am seals (fig. 7), one is a single hawk with a copied Yi Am seal (fig. 8); and the fifth is a hawk that lacks a Yi Am seal drawing but includes an inscription by that painter's contemporary, Korean scholar Seong Se-chang (1482–1548). Tan'yū's accuracy in copying Korean seals is attested to on his first single hawk copy of Yi Am, which includes a drawn seal for scholar Jeong Sa-ryong (1497–1572)¹⁵ (fig. 8) and is an exact match for an actual seal impression on a painting in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 9).¹⁶ The inscription on Tan'yū's copy is a poem that brings together Yi Am and the two scholars, Seong and Jeong.¹⁷ Tan'yū's copies thus show that the Japanese artist was recording carefully and perpetuating Yi Am hawk types, making them available to Kano painters.

That paintings by Yi Am were already in Japan by the seventeenth century is confirmed in *Honchō gashi* [History of Japanese paintings] compiled by Kano Einō (1631–97).



5. Torii Kiyonaga (1752–1815), *Lucky New Year Dreams: Fuji, Falcon, and Eggplant*, c. 1786. Woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 15.4 x 20.7 in., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William S. and John T. Spaulding Collection, 21.7427–8.

In that book, Yi Am is misidentified as a Japanese monk painter named Kanzan (完山), active during the Muromachi period (1333–1575), a confusion likely stemming from the seals.¹⁸ Two of these indicate the original location of the family clan, Wansan (Japanese: Kanzan); another refers to his courtesy name, Jeongjung (Japanese: Seichū). Einō states that the painter's area of expertise was polychrome dog painting, which he learned from the Southern Song painter Mao Yi (active c. 1165–73).¹⁹ Given the misreading of seals, Einō's characterization is correct, for Yi Am is especially known for his dog and hawk paintings, though extant works by him in Japanese collections also include geese and cats. Yi's repertoire included landscapes, flowers, plants, insects, and figures as attested to in Korean sources.²⁰

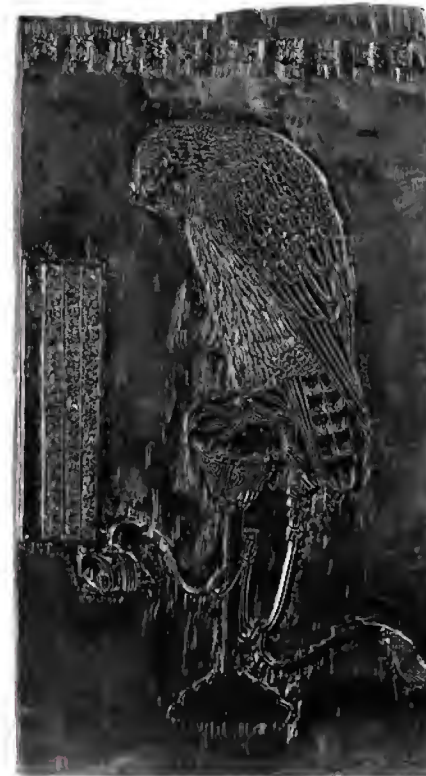
Expertise particularly in dog and hawk subjects makes sense because the two together were used in hunting. *Joseon wangjo sillok* [The annals of the Joseon dynasty] record that dogs as well as hawks were important diplomatic gifts and, in one instance, a painting of a hawk was presented by the king of Joseon to the fifteenth-century Chinese envoy Hai Shou (dates unknown) upon his request.²¹ There is no documentary evidence that hawk paintings were used as gifts to the Japanese, but the precedent is there, and Yi Am's works were clearly known in Japan by the Edo period, when Joseon Korea and Japan maintained open diplomatic relations. As a member of the royal family, Yi Am had access to the Joseon court and was patronized by King Jungjong (r. 1506–44), but in Korea there is a total lack of records on Yi from 1546 onward.²² In Japan, however, records exist from the seventeenth century, including mention of *A Black Falcon* (whereabouts unknown) by Yi that bears an inscription by a Korean scholar, Shin Gwang-han (1488–1555).²³ While we can only speculate about the possibility of hawk paintings as diplomatic gifts to Japan, official Korean documents attest to gifts of living hawks.

HAWKS AS DIPLOMATIC GIFTS

By tradition, hawking in Japan goes back to the reign of Emperor Nintoku (r. 313–99). The *Nihon shoki* [Chronicles of Japan], written in 720, recounts that Nintoku flew a hawk that brought down dozens of pheasants. That hawk was trained by Sake no kimi, an immigrant from the Korean kingdom of Baekje (18 BCE–660 CE). The success of this hunting expedition led the emperor to establish a bureau for training hawks. Ever since, possession of hawks in Japan was restricted to ruling classes, first to the imperial family and influential aristocrats, and later, with the establishment of military authority, to leading samurai clans. In the fourteenth century and the rule of the Muromachi shoguns, hawking was a sport widely enjoyed by daimyo and other samurai, and the birds were among the valuable gifts used to seal alliances.²⁴ Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98), daimyo and Japan's leader later in his life, was so fond of hawking that he compelled the daimyo of Oshū Province, where hawks were plentiful, to yield up prized birds to him and he put premier hawk nesting grounds directly under his own control.²⁵ Hideyoshi even ordered his retainers to capture hawks for him during the campaigns he launched against Korea.²⁶

Hereditary aristocrats lost the right to hunt with hawks in the Edo period when Tokugawa Ieyasu restricted their use to only military elites.²⁷ Ieyasu was an avid collector of hawks, acquiring them in Japan and from Korea. He received Korean hawks by two means: Korean envoys to Edo and Japanese delegations from Tsushima Province to Korea. Korea restricted trade with Japan after Hideyoshi's two invasions of 1592 and 1597, so Japanese envoys could go only to the regulated area of Waegwan (Japanese: Wakan, "Japan House") in the city of Busan. Believing that Japanese diplomats had helped guide Hideyoshi's invading armies in Korea, the Joseon government restricted access to "Japan House" to a single domain as Japan's representative, that of Tsushima, one of the country's smaller islands and on the route between the two countries. Korea agreed to trade, despite

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6.1–2. *Falcon*, 18th century. Woodblock and print, ink on paper, 33.7 x 18.1 in., Gwangju National Museum, Gift of Yangdogong, sub-clan of the Jeonju Yi family, 013201.



7. Kanō Tan'yū, part of *Sketches of Hawk Paintings*, mid-17th century. Handscroll, size unknown, private collection. From Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 23, 210.

the Japanese invasions, in order to open diplomatic channels for the return of prisoners of war. Tsushima's economy was based on trade with Korea, and Tokugawa Ieyasu sought to normalize relations and reconcile with both Korea and China.²⁸ All trade with Korea, not just in hawks, was managed by Tsushima to control Japanese knowledge of the peninsula.

Multiple Joseon sources state the high reputation Korean hawks and falcons, particularly *haedongcheong* and *songgol*, enjoyed in East Asia. *Haedongcheong* and *songgol* were especially skilled hunters and had been included by name in the tribute lists China issued Korea since the Goryeo dynasty (918–1392).²⁹ During the Ming dynasty, Chinese requests for Korean hawks, including *haedongcheong* and *songgol* falcons, appeared frequently in official records. The birds were so valuable that the Joseon court was able to offer China hawks and falcons instead of gold and silver, which were in short supply on the peninsula. An entry from *Joseon wangjo sillok*, from the fourth day of the eleventh month of 1418, recounts the origins of this arrangement:

The king said, "Gold and silver are not from our nation, which makes it difficult to continue to offer them as tribute for China. Thus, I would like to offer horses and hemp cloth, but what is your opinion on the idea?"

Jeong Yeok replied, "It ought to be hawks....The Chinese emperor would surely grant royal permission if it were them, so I will dispatch an envoy and petition him for that."³⁰

Japan, too, requested Korean hawks by type as attested by both Korean and Japanese documents. According to the Japanese *Bunrui kiji taikō* 分類紀事大綱 [Classification and summary of history and diplomatic affairs between Japan and Korea], Tokugawa Yoshimune (r. 1716–45) required Tsushima to obtain for him coveted *haedongcheong* falcons from Korea.³¹ Yoshimune pursued these hawks when he learned through a painting and written records that the Joseon court gave a *haedongcheong* falcon to the shogunate in 1675.³² The Joseon court had been rejecting these requests, claiming that the birds were too rare. However, a 1723 entry in the *Bunrui kiji taikō* calls the *haedongcheong* Korea's "local falcon" and these had been offered to rulers of Yuan and Ming dynasty China.³³ For reasons unknown, the Joseon court was not able to fulfill Yoshimune's requests. *Haedongcheong* were widely valued, making them desirable to the Tokugawa shogun.

This is but one of multiple reports in *Joseon wangjo sillok* reflecting keen Japanese interest in Korean hawks. In the era of Hideyoshi's Korean invasions, Korean officials reportedly bribed Japanese warriors with hawks in order to acquire military information and weapons.³⁴ Another entry states that Yu Yeong-rip (1537–99), a Korean prisoner of war, was



8. Kanō Tan'yū, part of *Sketches of Hawk Paintings*, mid-17th century. Handscroll, size unknown, private collection. From Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 22, 209.

able to win his release by bribing his Japanese captors with hawks.³⁵ The *Waein gucheong deungrok* 倭人求請謄錄 [Record of Japanese requests], a record of trade from "Japan House" kept from 1637 to 1724, reveals that during the seventeenth century, Japan requested eighty-eight or eighty-nine Korean hawks and falcons, of which eighty-three or eighty-four were actually supplied.³⁶ This number excludes hawks brought by Korean envoys during their twelve official missions to Japan during the Edo period. Korean envoys typically brought more than fifty birds as diplomatic gifts: twenty for the shogun, ten for the son of the shogun, and the rest for important daimyo, with a few extra held in reserve.³⁷

The Japanese especially prized white hawks and asked for them repeatedly. A 1480 entry from *Joseon wangjo sillok* identifies one Hatakeyama Yoshikatsu, deputy shogun, as soliciting a white hawk.³⁸ Hatakeyama reportedly sent an emissary bearing diplomatic gifts along with his entreaty. The Joseon court rejected the request, arguing that white hawks were not indigenous to the Korean peninsula.³⁹ In 1502, Ashikaga Yoshizumi (1481–1511) sent the monk Shuhan to Korea to request a copy of the Buddhist Tripitaka and exotic



9. Detail of *Gathering of Government Officials*, c. 1551. Handscroll, ink and color on silk, 51 x 26.8 in. (image), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Acquisitions Fund, and the Vincent Astor Foundation and Hahn Kwang Ho Gifts, 2008.55.

birds, including a white hawk.⁴⁰ In 1639, a delegation from Tsushima came bearing the rather bizarre request from the shogun for not just a white hawk, but one with either a dot in the center of its pupils, extra talons, or of exceptional size.⁴¹ Not surprisingly, the Korean government turned down the request, repeating that white hawks were not native to the peninsula and that they had never seen or heard of hawks with such characteristics.⁴²

THE ALLURE OF THE WHITE HAWK

The hawk description brought by the 1639 Korean delegation returning home was not born in nature but in art. That description accords with paintings of white hawks in Japan, which were popular even as Japanese sought to own real specimens. Some white hawks were surely known in Japan, since Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) reportedly favored them.⁴³ Even in the current exhibition, examples of white hawks abound. Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713) included one in his *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy* (plates 37–46), two appear on the aforementioned screens from the Billingsley Company (plates 13–14), another on the *Satsuma Bowl of Immortals, Butterflies, and Hawk* (plate 69), and again on the *Pair of Vases with Maple Trees and Hawks* (plate 78). One can almost trace a connecting line between Korea and Japan from these historical works to Kano Tsunenobu's album and the Billingsley screens in the exhibition.

In China, pure white birds and animals were considered auspicious since at least the reign of Emperor Huizong, who had sightings of these and other auspicious signs catalogued as evidence of his good stewardship.⁴⁴ This same emperor, who reigned in the first quarter of the twelfth century, was also a painter who is recorded as having included hawks among his subjects. However, extant hawk paintings attributed to him are all later works, some coming from the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368), and most, including white hawk paintings, from the Ming dynasty. Production of white hawk paintings ostensibly by Huizong continued into the Qing dynasty (1644–1911), and this was surely because the pairing itself had come to be understood as auspicious.⁴⁵

There are no documentary references to Emperor Huizong actually having painted white hawks until the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ A *Joseon wangjo sillok* entry reports that the Joseon court presented a white hawk banded with dark brown across the eyes and cheeks to Chinese Emperor Xuande (r. 1426–35), who was so pleased he reciprocated by giving his own belt ring to the Joseon king. The Xuande emperor is recorded as commenting that no hawk of this type had been seen at court since the reign of Huizong, when that auspicious sighting was recorded.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, the passage is unclear as to whether this picture was executed by the emperor or not.

Nearly 160 years later in 1589, Korean envoys to Japan, Kim Seong-il (1538–94) and Cha Cheon-ro (1556–1615), viewed a white hawk painting in Tsushima that was reputedly the work of Huizong, an event the envoys memorialized in a poem.⁴⁸ Another Korean envoy, Gyeong Seom (1562–1620), viewed a white hawk painting by Huizong in 1607 at the residence of the daimyo of Tsushima.⁴⁹ The white hawk painting by Huizong in Tsushima appears a third time in 1636, in documents by Kim Se-ryeom (1593–1646) and Nam Yong-ik (1628–91).⁵⁰ Thus, the evidence in Korea for white hawk paintings by Chinese Emperor Huizong first occurs in the reports of Korean officials visiting Japan.

In Japan, the association of white hawks with Huizong seems to have begun prior to the late sixteenth century. For Japanese patrons, the subject was not so much auspicious as it was prestigious. Japanese patrons of hawk paintings are generally thought to have been commissioning portraits of cherished hawks.⁵¹ However, in terms of possession, Japanese patrons gained virtual ownership of hawks through collecting fine paintings of them, the status of painting being akin to hawk ownership. By the nineteenth century, translator Kim Seok-jun (1831–1915) reported from Tsushima that the Japanese annually requested Korean *paintings* of hawks and tigers since neither inhabited Japan.⁵² Since several types of hawks are endemic to Japan, he perhaps referred to the special falcons indigenous to

the Korean peninsula. Korean hawks and falcons were routinely among diplomatic gifts for Japan, but they were reserved for the shogun and a few select daimyo, and disease and death in transit further reduced their numbers.⁵³ Thus, for Japanese unable to secure the actual imported birds, Korean paintings of them or works by renowned Emperor Huizong could substitute as suitable and prestigious possessions.

In East Asia depictions of hawks developed in close relation to political power and social hierarchies. Chinese artists set types of hawk depiction that then spread to Korea and Japan where they endured as conventions. Japanese and Korean painters absorbed these models and adapted them to the specific demands of local patronage. In Japan, the process was confounded by the mingling of Chinese and Korean works in collections that were not carefully catalogued by origin. When Japanese artists consulted imported images as models, they may or may not have known their origins. Prestige in Japanese society had its own criteria for ruling samurai that at times prioritized reputed authorship, as the case of paintings associated with Emperor Huizong, and at other times attributed value to the subject depicted. Japanese feudal elites were avid hawk sportsmen who ensured the activity's status through laws giving them exclusive rights to hawk ownership, binding both the birds and their depiction to leadership. When enhanced with rare foreign origins or famed foreign figures of the past, the desirability of imported hawks and hawk paintings commensurately increased.

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- 1 Both hawks and falcons are raptors. Although these raptors are specified by two distinct terms in English, East Asian languages generally use one word for both (Chinese: *yīng*, Japanese: *taka*, Korean: *mae*) unless speaking of distinct species such as *haedongcheong* and *songgol* (both types of falcons) in Korean. Therefore, the term will be unified as “hawk” in this essay, except when discussing *haedongcheong* and *songgol*, which can be clearly defined as types of falcons.
- 2 Hou-mei Sung, *Decoded Messages: The Symbolic Language of Chinese Animal Painting*, exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 16.
- 3 Itakura Masaaki, “Gayō no keifu: Tōjia no siten kara” [The lineage of hawk paintings: The East Asian context], in Nara Kenritsu Bijutsukan (Nara Prefectural Museum of Art), *Kachōga: Chūgoku Kankoku to Nihon: Heijō sento 1300 nensai tokubetsuten* [Bird-and-flower painting in China, Korea, and Japan: Special exhibition commemorating the 1300th anniversary of Nara/Heijō-kyō], exh. cat. (Osaka: Yomiuri Shimbun, 2010), 20; same article in *Damunhwa wa pyeonghwa* [Multiculturalism and peace] 4 (2010): 199.
- 4 Sung, *Decoded Messages*, 7.
- 5 Du Fu describes a hawk tied up by cords and rings in his poem “Huaying” 畫鷹 “The Painted Hawk.” Itakura, “Gayō no keifu,” 200.
- 6 Oh Da-yeon, “Yi Am ui gaeungdo: Haecheongdo ui jeongtong gwa saeroun sangjing” [Yi Am's *Falcon on a Perch*: Tradition and symbolic visualization], *Misulsa wa sigakmunhwa* [Art history and visual culture] 11 (2012): 139.
- 7 Itakura Masaaki, “Sakuhin kaisetsu” [Catalogue of works], in *Chōsen ōchō no kaiga to Nihon: Sōtatsu Taiga Jakuchū mo mananda ringoku no bi* [Paintings of Korea's Joseon dynasty and Japan: The art of a neighboring kingdom that inspired Sotatsu, Taiga, and Jakuchū], exh. cat. (Osaka: Yomiuri Shimbun, 2008), 245, 268.
- 8 This painting is in the collection of the Shōden Eigenin in Kyoto. Itakura points to its two dimensionality and ornate perch in “Sakuhin kaisetsu,” 245, 268.
- 9 Wu Tung, *Tales from the Land of Dragons: 1000 Years of Chinese Painting*, exh. cat. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2000) and Rachel Saunders, “Pursuits of Power: Falconry in Edo Period Japan,” *Orientalism* 36, no. 2 (Mar. 2005): 86; Sung, *Decoded Messages*, 11.
- 10 Sunpyo Hong and Chin-Sung Chang, “Peace under Heaven: Confucianism and Painting in Early Joseon Korea,” 86–87 and Soyoung Lee, “Checklist of Objects in the Exhibition,” 106 in *Art of the Korean Renaissance, 1400–1600*, ed. Soyoung Lee, exh. cat. (New York: The Metropolitan

- Museum of Art, 2009). Lee includes a detail of the six seals; one translates as Yi's official title, a second as his ancestral hometown, and a third appears to be the same seal as one appearing on other works by Yi. Also, Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 136, 143.
- 11 This is essentially the argument made by Itakura in "Sakuhin kaisetsu," 245, 264.
 - 12 Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 213.
 - 13 Entry for the twenty-first day of the second month, 1427 in *Joseon wangjo sillok* [The annals of the Joseon dynasty]. *Joseon wangjo sillok* are the official documents of the Joseon court from the reign of King Taejong (r. 1400–18) to King Cheoljong (r. 1849–63), which encompass records in various categories. They consist of 1,893 volumes compiled in chronological order, viewable here: <http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.do>. Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 145.
 - 14 Joseon prints record the appearance of court paintings, which help scholars reconstruct the stylistic development of hawks in Joseon court paintings. For example, a pair of prints shows two different types of falcons: *baeksonggol* ("white pine *songgol* falcon") and *nohwagol* ("reed flower *songgol* falcon"). One eighteenth-century example (figs. 6.1–2) follows court paintings that King Taejong bestowed on a meritorious retainer, Lee Cheon-wu (d. 1417). Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 145.
 - 15 Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 209–10.
 - 16 Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 159.
 - 17 The inscription is a poem recorded in *Hoemjapgo* 湖陰雜稿 [A collection of various works by Jeong Sa-ryong] which says that he [Jeong] and Seong Se-chang together wrote inscriptions on a screen painting of hawks by Yi Am. Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 141.
 - 18 Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 209.
 - 19 Kano Einō and Hiyama Yoshichika, *Honchō gashū* [History of Japanese paintings] (Tokyo: Tōsho Kankōkai, 1974), 80.
 - 20 Lee Won-bok, "Duseongnyeong Yi Am ui yeongmohwa: gyeondo wa eungdo rul jungsim uro" [Animal paintings of Duseongnyeong Yi Am: Dog and hawk paintings], *Gogohakji* [Journal of art and archaeology] 17 (2011): 755, 762–63.
 - 21 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the entry on the fifth day of the tenth month of 1421.
 - 22 Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 144, 157. Lee, "Duseongnyeong Yi Am," 755.
 - 23 Stated in *Zōtei koga bikō* [Expanded and revised reference for old paintings] published in 1904. The inscription is a segment of a poem, "A White and Black Falcon Painting by Yi Am," which is included in the *Gijaep* 企齋集 [A collection of literary works by Shin Gwang-han]. Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 156, 164.
 - 24 Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 212–13.
 - 25 Morimoto Masahiro, "Senkokuki no taka kenjō no kōzō to zōtō giri" [The system of gifting hawks and protocol of exchanging gifts during the Warring States period], *Rekishigaku kenkyū* [Journal of historical studies] 662 (1994): 3.
 - 26 Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 213.
 - 27 Discussed in Morgan Pitelka, "Lordly Sport: Raptors, Falconry, and the Control of Land," in *Spectacular Accumulation: Material Culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and Samurai Sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2016), chap. 4.
 - 28 James B. Lewis, "Tsushima's Identity and the Post-Imjin Waeran Japan House," in *Frontier Contact between Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan* (London: Taylor and Francis, 2014); also, Ronald P. Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).
 - 29 Oh, "Yi Am ui gaeungdo," 145.
 - 30 Author's translation. The original text reads: 上王曰: "金銀不産我國, 貢獻實難繼也。欲以馬匹及布子代獻如何?" 鄭易對曰: "宜代以鷹子。...帝必允俞, 將遣使奏請。"
 - 31 *Bunrui kiji taikō* is a collection of the documents from 1482 to 1838 compiled by the Sō clan of Tsushima Province, and is accessible online: http://db.history.go.kr/introduction/intro_ts.html. This work covers more than the official report submitted to the shogun in 1725, *Chōsen tsūkō taiki* 朝鮮通交大紀 [Chronicles of diplomatic affairs with Joseon]. Also, Lee Seung-min, "Joseon hugi Ilbon gwa ui mae gyoyeok gwa geu uimi" [The trade of falcons and its significance in the late Joseon period], *Han-Il gwangye yeongusa* [The Korea-Japan historical review] 45 (2013): 184.
 - 32 Lee, "Joseon hugi Ilbon gwa ui mae gyoyeok gwa geu uimi," 184; *Bunrui kiji taikō*, vol. 2, the twentieth day of the eleventh month of 1719.
 - 33 *Bunrui kiji taikō*, vol. 2, the twenty-third day of the eighth month of 1723.
 - 34 Kim Kyoung-mi, "17–18 segi dacil oegyo gyoyeok gwa mae" [Diplomacy and trade with Japan in the 17th–18th centuries regarding hawks], *Yoksas wa segye* [History and the world] 34 (2008): 100.
 - 35 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the ninth day of the ninth month of 1592.
 - 36 Lee, "Joseon hugi Ilbon gwa ui mae gyoyeok gwa geu uimi," 184. *Gugyeok waein gucheong deungrok* [Record of Japanese requests in modern Korean], trans. Jeong Gyeong-ju, 5 vols. (Busan: Busan Gwangyeoksi Sisa Pyeonchan Wiwonhoe, 2004). The five volumes are accessible via these links: http://vod.busan.go.kr/data/ebook_123/library/ebook001/saryochongseo_11.pdf; http://vod.busan.go.kr/data/ebook_124/library/ebook001/saryochongseo_12.pdf; http://vod.busan.go.kr/data/ebook_125/library/ebook001/saryochongseo_13.pdf; http://vod.busan.go.kr/data/ebook_129/library/ebook001/saryochongseo_14.pdf; <http://kiss.kstudy.com/thesis/thesis-view.asp?key=3097408>.
 - 37 Kim, "17–18 segi dacil oegyo gyoyeok gwa mae," 109–11.
 - 38 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the fifth day of the seventh month of 1480. This story is problematic because there is no Hatakeyama Yoshikatsu in Japanese sources. Some suggest it is a recording error for Hatakeyama Yoshimune (d. 1497) who was the *shugo* (provincial governor) of Noto Province. However, Murai Shōsuke posits that he was a fabricated figure since Yoshimune was never deputy shogun. Murai Shōsuke, *Kokkyō o koete: Higashijima kaiki sekai no chūsei* [Beyond the border: The world of East Asian seas in medieval times] (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1997), 226.
 - 39 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the eleventh day of the eighth month of 1480.
 - 40 *Joseon wangjo sillok*, the twentieth day of the fourth month of 1502.
 - 41 Kwon Sang-in, "Wagwan yo e gwanhan sogo" [A study on the kiln in the "Japan House"], *Chamunhwa saneophak* [Journal of tea culture and industry studies] 32 (2016): 3. *Waein gucheong deungrok*, the sixteenth day of the eighth month of 1639.
 - 42 *Waein gucheong deungrok*, the sixteenth day of the eighth month of 1639.
 - 43 Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 216.
 - 44 Fourth section, *Xuanhe ruilan ce* [Albums of auspicious viewing in the Xuanhe reign]. Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 202.
 - 45 See Itakura, "Gayō no keifu," 203, 205 for this catalogue of Huizong hawk paintings.
 - 46 Kho Youen-hee, "Dong Asia hoechwa ui bokje wa pasaeng e daehan ilgochal: Hwijong ui mae gurim ul jungsim uro" [A study on reproduction and derivation of East Asian paintings: A focus on the prevalence of Huizong's hawk paintings in the sixteenth and seventeenth century], *Daedong munhwa yeongu* [Daedong Korean studies] 83 (2013): 134.
 - 47 The original text of the entry on the twentieth day of the fourth month of 1430 reads: "今進白角鷹, 前後所無, 一出於宋徽宗時, 而畫影一本流傳而已。" "The white horn hawk [mountain hawk eagle] that you offered, there has never been another, except for the one that appeared during the time of Huizong of the Song [dynasty], and just one portrait of it has been passed down [to this day]."
 - 48 Kho, "Dong Asia hoechwa ui bokje wa pasaeng e daehan ilgochal," 135.
 - 49 Kho, 135; *Haesarok* [Record of the sea raft], the fourth day of the third month of 1607. This entry adds that the work bore an inscription by Cai You (1077–1126).
 - 50 Kho, *Haesarok*, 135.
 - 51 Hashimoto Shinji, "Sakuhin kaisetsu," in *Chōsen ōchō no kaiga to Nihon*, 264.
 - 52 Hong Sunpyo, "Joseon hugi Han-Il gan hwajeok ui gyoryu" [Exchanges of paintings between Korea and Japan in the late Joseon period], *Misulsa yeongu* [Journal of art history] 11 (1997): 7.
 - 53 Lee, "Joseon hugi Ilbon gwa ui mae gyoyeok gwa geu uimi," 186–89.

Plates



1. *Ormolu Mounted Eagles*, c. 1690
Arita porcelain, ormolu, 26 x 11.5 x 12 in. (each)
private collection



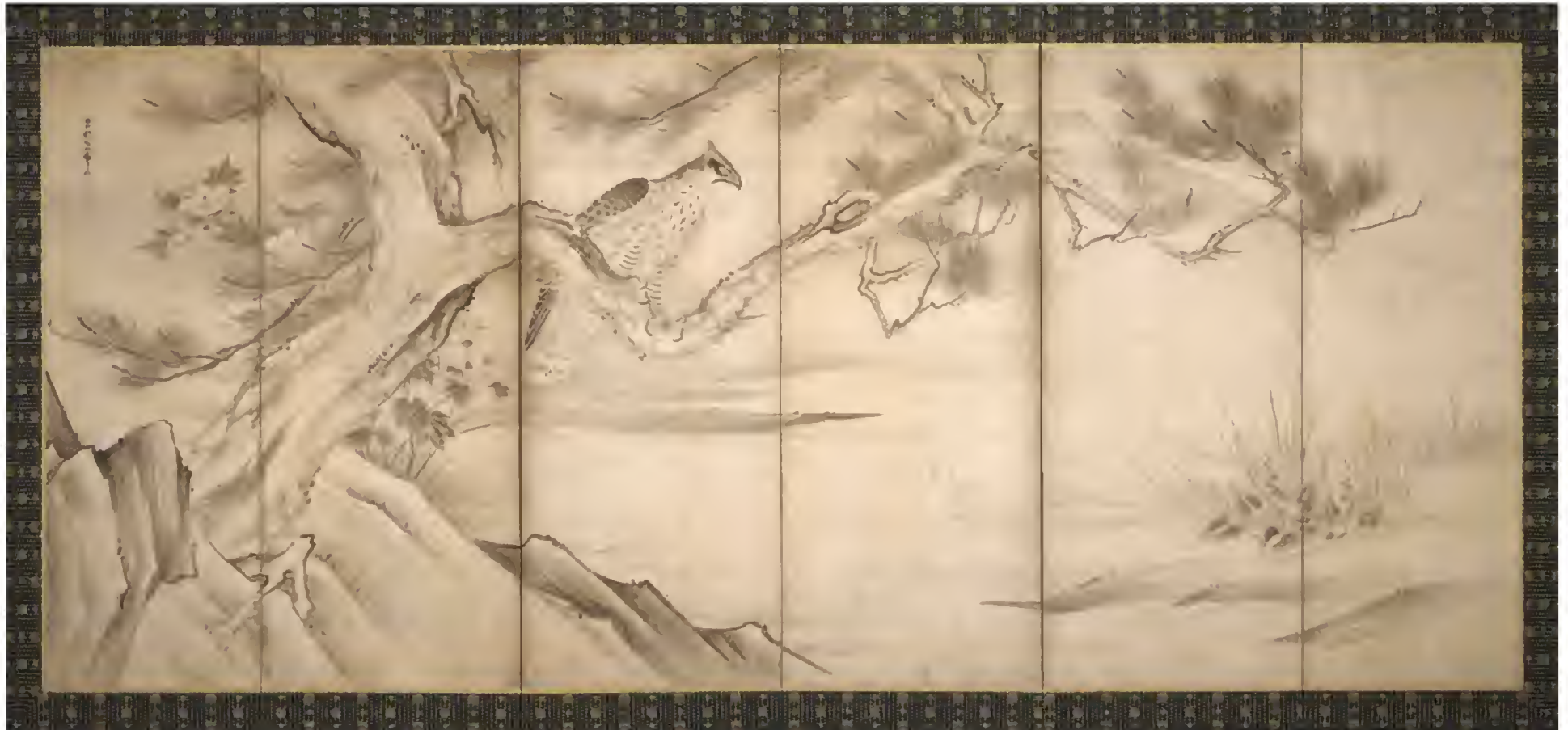
2. Genryusai Seiya (workshop)
Okimono of an Eagle on a Gnarled Wood Stump, c. 1880
bronze, *shakudō*, gold, wood, 21 x 40.5 x 16.9 in. (eagle), 31.8 x 27.5 x 21.5 in. (stump)
private collection



3. *Okimono of an Eagle on a Rocky Outcrop Looking Down at a Monkey and Young*, c. 1875
wood, cow horn, 16 x 6 x 8.5 in.
private collection



4. Ohara Koson (1877–1945)
Eagle on Rocky Shore, c. 1910
woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13.5 x 7.3 in.
private collection



5. Soga Nichokuan (active c. 1620–60)
Hawk Eagle in a Pine Tree, mid-17th century
ink on paper, 59.8 x 137.3 in.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Fenollosa-Weld Collection, 11.4809



6. Soga Nichokuan (active c. 1620–60)

Eagle on a Rock, mid-17th century

ink on paper, 59.8 x 137.3 in.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection, 11.6912



7. Tsukioka Kōgyo (1869–1927)

Eagle on a Pine Tree, c. 1900

woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 9.3 x 9.6 in. (sheet)

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, Bequest of Henry L. Seaver, SC 1976.54.460



8. Shoami Katsuyoshi (1832–1908)
Okimono of a Silver Hawk, 1904
silver, *shibuichi*, *shakudō*, gold, wood, 10 x 27.5 x 21.5 in. (hawk), 32 x 33 x 15 in. (stand)
private collection



9. Toshihisa
Okimono of Hawk on a Bronze Rock, c. 1890
mixed metals, bronze, 5.5 x 1.8 x 1.8 in. (hawk), 4.8 x 4.1 x 5.8 in. (rock)
private collection



10. Ohara Koson (1877–1945)

Hawk on Snowy Branch, 1926

woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 14 x 9.5 in. (image)

Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, Gift of William Green, AC 2005.197



11. Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858)

Fukagawa Susaki Jūmantsubo, no. 107 from *One Hundred Famous Views of Edo*, 1857
woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 13 x 8.8 in. (sheet)

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James Barker, the Margaret Rankin Barker–Isaac Ogden Rankin Collection of Oriental Art,
SC 1968.467



12. Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847–1915)

Hunter Spying a Hawk, 1878

woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 10.4 x 14.4 in.

Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, Massachusetts, Gift of Mrs. Louis C. Black, MH 1973.303.Q.RII



13. *Tethered Hawks*, c. 1820
ink and color on silk, 69.3 x 148 in.
Billingsley Company, Dallas, Texas, SCN014A



14. *Tethered Hawks*, c. 1820
ink and color on silk, 69.3 x 148 in.
Billingsley Company, Dallas, Texas, SCN014B



16. *Ōtsu-e of Falcon on a Pine Tree*, 18th century
hanging scroll, ink and color on paper, 23.4 x 8.4 in. (image)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art,
Gift of Harry G. C. Packard, and Purchase, Fletcher, Rogers, Harris Brisbane Dick, and Louis
V. Bell Funds, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and the Annenberg Fund, Inc. Gift, 1975.268.148



17. Isoda Koryūsai (1735–90)
First Auspicious Dream of the Year (Young Man with Hawk), c. 1775
woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 27.8 x 5.8 in.
Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts, Gift of William Green,
AC 2005.99



18. Tomokazu
Netsuke Depicting a Hawk on a Group of Eggplant, c. 1790–1830
boxwood, horn, 1.5 in. (h)
private collection



19. Toyomasa
Netsuke of Eagle Perched on a Pine Branch, 1773–1856
wood, horn, 1.5 in. (h)
private collection



20. Kajikawa family (inro) and Hogen Rantei (netsuke)
Inro of Hawk on Pine Branch, Netsuke of Hawk, and Ojime, c. 1850
 lacquer, mother-of-pearl, wood, buffalo horn, ivory, glass, gold, metal,
 1 x 2.5 x 3.6 in. (inro), 1.8 x 0.8 x 1.4 in. (netsuke)
 private collection



21. Yamada Jokusai
Inro for April with a Hawk Chasing a Male Pheasant, Netsuke, and Ojime, c. 1820–50
 lacquer, coral, wood, 0.9 x 2.3 x 3.3 in. (inro), 0.9 x 1.4 in. (diam., netsuke)
 private collection



22. Kaigyokusai Masatsugu (1813–92)
Netsuke of an Eagle and Monkey, c. 1840
 ivory, horn, 1.9 x 1.4 x 0.5 in.
 private collection



23. Nobukazu
Netsuke of a Monkey Being Attacked by an Eagle, c. 1820
 wood, horn, 1.4 in. (h)
 private collection



24. Itsumin (Hokiudo Itsumin)
Netsuke of an Eagle Fighting with Two Monkeys, c. 1830–70
 wood, horn, mother-of-pearl, 1.8 x 1.9 in.
 private collection



25. *Netsuke of an Eagle Perched on a Tree Stump in Which a Monkey Is Hiding*, 1780–1820
 ebony, shell, brass, 1.6 in. (h)
 private collection



26. Okatomo
Netsuke of an Eagle Attacking a Monkey, 1750–1800
ivory, 0.9 x 2.3 x 1.5 in.
private collection



27. Masanobu
Netsuke of an Eagle with Octopus in Its Talons, 1801–25
ivory, 2 x 1.6 x 0.8 in.
private collection



28. Tomokazu
Netsuke of a Monkey Held in the Severed Claw of an Eagle, c. 1790–1830
 boxwood, horn, 1.5 x 1.8 in.
 private collection



29. Kaigyokusai Masatsugu (1813–92)
Netsuke in the Form of an Eagle's or Hawk's Talon, c. 1840
 ivory, 2.8 in. (l)
 private collection



30. *Pipe with Squirrel and Hawk*, c. 1820
burlwood, lacquer, stone, 17.3 x 2.8 x 3 in.
private collection



31. *Kagamibuta-Style Netsuke with a Hawk Perched on a Pine Branch*, c. 1860
iron, gold, ivory, 1.5 in. (diam.)
private collection



32. Goto School
Kagamibuta-Style Netsuke Depicting a Hawk Trying to Catch a Pheasant, c. 1850
ivory, shakudō, gold, 1.8 in. (diam.)
private collection



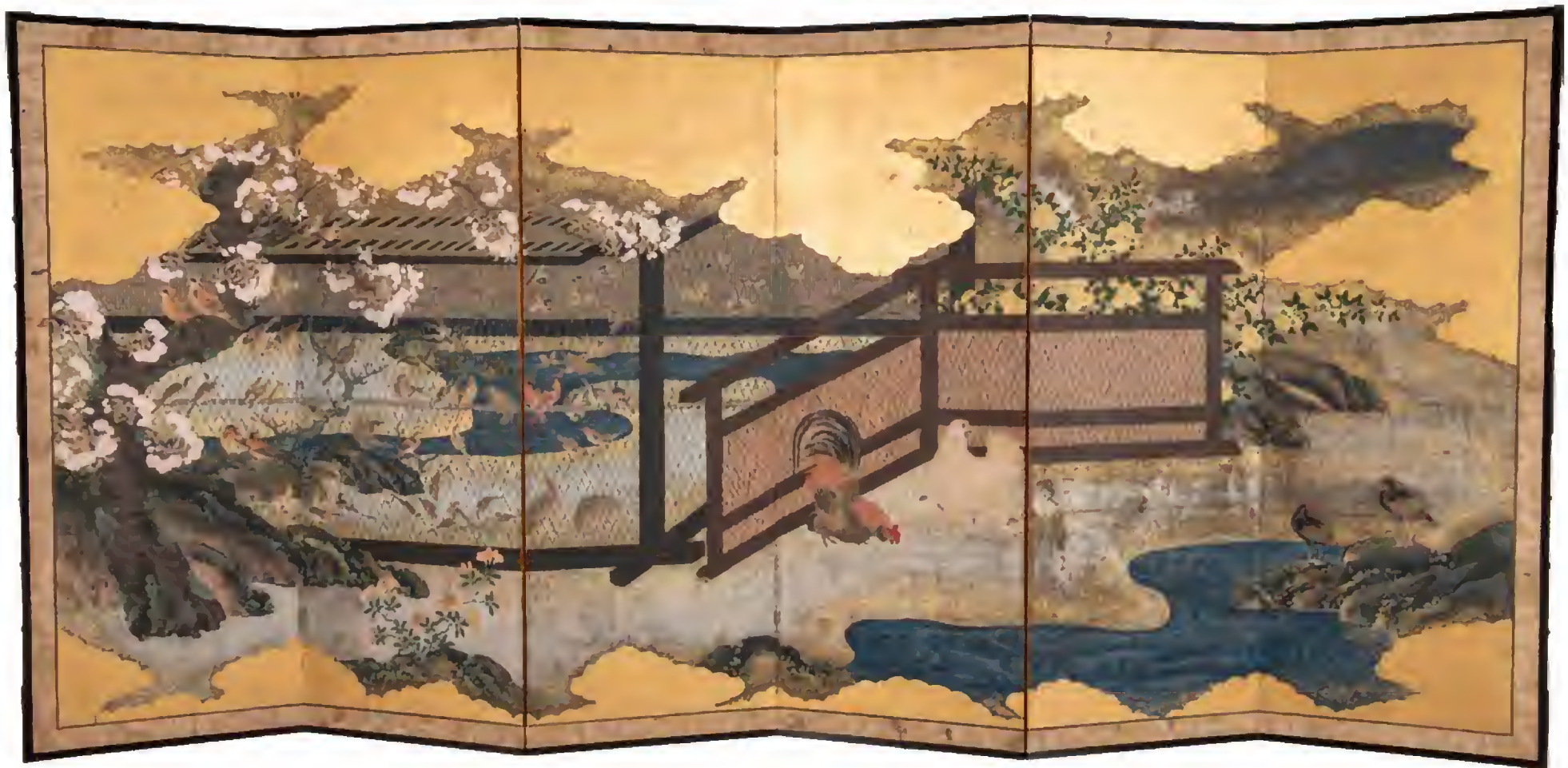
33. Shinryo (Shibayama Ekisei or Yasumasa) and Ozeki Company
Kodansu with Tethered Hawks and Flowering Cherry Branches, c. 1885
lacquer, ivory, mother-of-pearl, horn, *shibuichi*, *shakudō*, enamel, silver, 7.6 x 5.8 x 8 in.
private collection



34. Myōchin Munetada
Koro in the Form of a Samurai Helmet, c. 1850
iron, silver, *shibuichi*, gilt, 5.8 x 8.5 x 7 in.
private collection



35. *Estate Birds*, c. 1780
paper, wood, paint, ink, gold leaf, 68 x 153 x 0.8 in.
private collection



36. *Estate Birds*, c. 1780
paper, wood, paint, ink, gold leaf, 68 x 153 x 0.8 in.
private collection



37–38. Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713)
 Leaves from *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy*, 17th–18th century
 ink and color on silk, 10.8 x 9.4 in. (each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 29.100.1398a–b



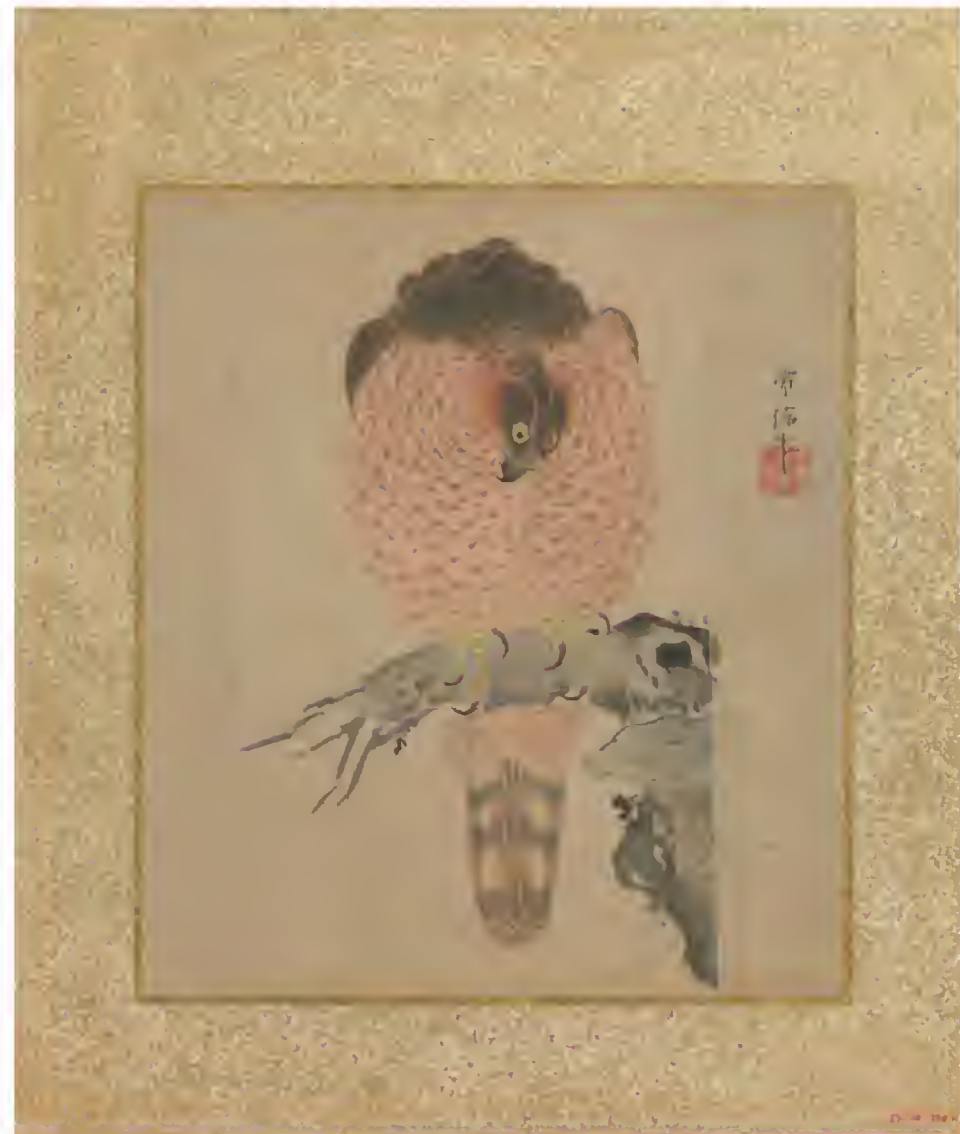
39–40. Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713)
Leaves from *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy*, 17th–18th century
ink and color on silk, 10.8 x 9.4 in. (each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 29.100.1398c–d



41–42. Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713)
 Leaves from *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy*, 17th–18th century
 ink and color on silk, 10.8 x 9.4 in. (each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 29.100.1398e–f



43–44. Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713)
Leaves from *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy*, 17th–18th century
ink and color on silk, 10.8 x 9.4 in. (each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 29.100.1398g–h



45–46. Kano Tsunenobu (1636–1713)
 Leaves from *Album of Hawks and Calligraphy*, 17th–18th century
 ink and color on silk, 10.8 x 9.4 in. (each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, H. O. Havemeyer Collection, Bequest of Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, 29.100.1398i–j



47. Nakano Bikai (Yoshiumi)
Okimono of Hawk Perched on a Lacquer Stand, c. 1890
silver, lacquer, *shakudō*, *shibuichi*, gilt, 10 x 3.8 x 6.3 in. (hawk), 19.6 x 9.5 x 7.9 in. (stand)
private collection



48. Katsushika Hokusai (1760–1849)
Lower Meguro, from *Thirty-Six Views of Mount Fuji*, c. 1832
 woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 10 x 15 in. (sheet)

Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. James Barker, the Margaret Rankin Barker–Isaac Ogden Rankin Collection of Oriental Art,
 SC 1968.242



49. Totoya Hokkei (1780–1850)
Falcon Hunting, from *One Hundred Verses on Snow*, 1828
 woodblock print, ink and color on paper, 7 x 10 in.
 McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2018.79



50. Gilman Joslin, Boston
Terrestrial Globe on Stand, 1890s
papier-mâché, mahogany, metal, 22 x 13 in. (diam.)
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.299



51. Cecilia Beaux (1855–1942)

Mrs. Larz Anderson, 1900–01

oil on canvas, 82 x 39.8 in.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.156a



52. Bruce Wilder Saville (1893–1938)

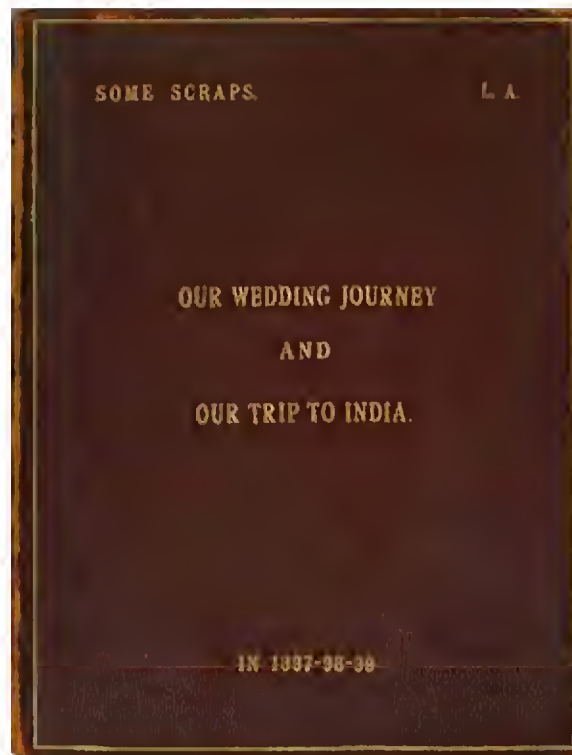
Bust of Larz Anderson, 1916

bronze, 32 x 26 x 16 in.

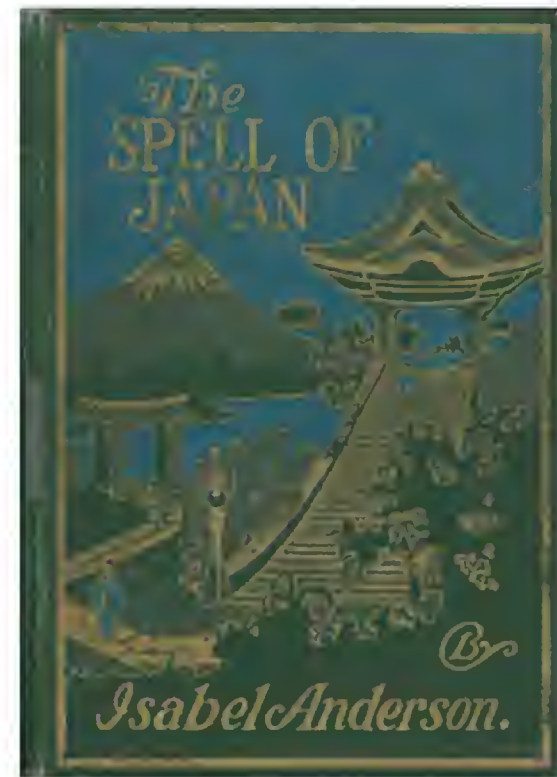
Larz Anderson Auto Museum, Brookline, Massachusetts, Gift of Isabel Anderson, 2001.0007



53. Philip de László (1869–1937)
Sketch of Isabel and Larz Anderson, 1925
 pencil on paper, 13.3 x 8.5 in.
 The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC,
 Gift of Isabel Anderson, MSS L1938D13.17



54. Larz Anderson (1866–1937)
Some Scraps: Our Wedding Journey and Our Trip to India in 1897–98–99
 The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift
 of Isabel Anderson, MSS L2004G19.3 M



55. Isabel Anderson (1876–1948)
The Spell of Japan (Boston: Page, 1914)
 Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. Library, Boston College



56. *Miniature Birdcage*, c. 1913
silver, 3.6 x 2 in. (diam.)

The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel
Anderson, M.1938.581.1a-b



57. *Miniature Palanquin*, c. 1913
silver, 1.8 x 4.5 x 1.2 in.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of
Isabel Anderson, M.1938.581.2



58. *Gift Box*, c. 1913
wood, lacquer, gold, silk, 5.5 x 7.8 x 9.8 in.
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.080



59. *Crystal Ball and Stand*, 19th century
rock crystal, ivory, paint, 6.3 x 3.8 in. (diam.)
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.124.1a-b



60. *Box for Writing Papers*, 19th century
wood, lacquer, gold, silver, 15.8 x 12.5 x 5.8 in.
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson,
M.1938.083a-b



61. *Box for Writing Utensils*, 19th century
wood, lacquer, gold, silver, stone, 9.5 x 8.5 x 2.3 in.
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel
Anderson, M.1938.084a-d



62. *Kesa*, 18th–19th century
silk, linen, 40.9 x 67.3 in.

The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.734



63. *Imari Punch Bowl and Stand*, mid-18th century
porcelain, enamel, gold leaf, teak, 21.5 x 19.4 in. (diam.)
The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.159.1a-b



64. *Temple Lantern*, 1868–1912
gilt bronze, 57.5 x 29 in. (diam.)

The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.007.2



65. *Seated Buddha*, 17th century
gilt wood, 26.5 x 16 in. (diam.)

The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.231



66. V. F. von Lossberg (designer) and Edward F. Caldwell & Company, New York (fabricator)
Mantel Clock and Garniture, 1911
 gilt bronze, glass, 19 x 32.8 x 9.5 in. (clock), 30 x 9 x 6 in. (garniture, each)
 The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.044.1-3



67. Jeremiah Andrews (eagle)
Frame with the Society of the Cincinnati Eagle and Facsimile Diploma of Richard Clough Anderson, c. 1790 (eagle), mid-late 19th century (frame)
 wood, gold leaf, sheet metal, glass, gold, enamel, paper, 2 x 1.1 in. (eagle), 34.5 x 29.5 x 2.5 in. (frame)
 The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC, Gift of Isabel Anderson, M.1938.9294, M.1938.482



68. Koyano Yoshitsune and Koyano Masami
Model of a Pagoda, 1889–98
shakudō, copper, gold, wood, 50 x 22.8 x 22.8 in.
private collection



69. Yabu Meizan (1853–1934)
Satsuma Bowl of Immortals, Butterflies, and Hawk, c. 1890
 glazed earthenware with gilded and painted design, 2.3 x 5.8 in. (diam.)
 private collection



70. *Satsuma Vase with Design of Samurai and Beauties*, c. 1870–90
 glazed earthenware with gilded and painted design, 4.4 x 2 in. (diam.)
 McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, Gift of Stanley Burns, 2018.81



71. *Satsuma Tea Set with Dragons and Rakan*, c. 1870–90
glazed earthenware with gilded and painted design, 4.4 x 6.3 x 4.5 in. (diam., sugar bowl), 8 x 8.9 x 5.1 in. (diam., teapot), 3 x 4.6 in. (diam., cup and saucer, each)
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, Gift of Stanley Burns, 2018.80.1–10



72. Ryozan

Satsuma Vase with Panels of Ladies at Leisure and People by Pavilions, 1868–1912
glazed earthenware with gilded and painted design, 15 x 12.8 in. (diam.)
private collection



73. Shoami Katsuyoshi (1832–1908)
Vase in the Form of a Gourd with a Frog, c. 1890
 bronze, copper, *shakudō*, silver, gold, 8 x 4 in. (diam.)
 private collection



74. Sato Hidehiro
Vase with Eagle and Monkey, c. 1880
shibuichi, *shakudō*, silver, gold, copper, 8.6 x 3.9 in. (diam.)
 private collection



75. Someya Johoku
Vase Decorated with Two Fish beneath Stylized Wave Handles, c. 1880
 bronze, 16.8 x 7.5 in. (diam.)
 private collection



76. *Vase with Pheasants, Cherry Branches, Sparrows, and Maples*, c. 1885
 bronze, gold, silver, copper, *shakudō*, 24 x 9.5 in. (diam.)
 private collection



77. *Jar with Lid, Decorated with Portraits of International Leaders*, c. 1875–99
porcelain with underglaze black and overglaze enamel color and gold, 12 x 8 in. (diam.)
private collection



78. *Pair of Vases with Maple Trees and Hawks*, c. 1890
enamel, silver, copper, 11.8 x 5.3 in. (diam., each)
private collection



79. Yamaguchi Issho (Yosai, 1876–c. 1930) and Mitsuyuki
Vase with Hawk in Flight above Waves, 1910–14
 silver, shakudō, shibuichi, gold, copper, 18.3 x 11 in. (diam.)
 private collection



80. Koyo (vase) and Shunkei (carving)
Vase with Sea Eagle on Rock above Foaming Waves, c. 1900
 silver, shibuichi, shakudō, silver gilt, 16.5 x 9 in. (diam.)
 private collection



81. *Lobed Panel with Eagle on Pine Branch*, 1868–1912
wood, *shakudō*, gold, 2.8 x 25.8 in. (diam.)
private collection



82. Arthur and Bond, Yokohama
Punch Bowl, c. 1890
cast and hammered silver, 29 x 20.6 in. (diam.)
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 1988.324



83. *Shodana (Display Cabinet)*, c. 1900
pine with Hakone marquetry, 51 x 34.5 x 17 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, Gift of Edward Cabot, 2005.1



84. Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919)
Eagle with Outstretched Wings, late 19th century
iron, pigment, *shakudō*, *shibuichi*, wood, 19 x 55 in. (eagle)
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Gift of James R. Steers, 11.105



85a. Attrib. Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919)

Eagle, c. 1890s

bronze, gold, *shakudō*, 73 x 68 x 59 in.

McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2018.78



85b. Attrib. Suzuki Chōkichi (1848–1919)
Eagle, c. 1890s
bronze, gold, *shakudō*, 73 x 68 x 59 in.
McMullen Museum of Art, Boston College, 2018.78



86. *Okimono of an Eagle Perched on a Tree Branch*, c. 1850–90
ivory, horn, mother-of-pearl, wood, 26.5 x 42 in.
private collection



87–88. Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–89)

Eagle Attacking a Monkey, Eagle Attacking a Mountain Lion, 1885

hanging scrolls, ink and color on paper, 65.5 x 33 in. (image, each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs. Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr., and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 14.76.64a–b

[14.76.64a not in exhibition]



89–90. Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–89)

White Eagle Eyeing a Mountain Lion, Eagle Pursuing Rabbit, 1885

hanging scrolls, ink and color on paper, 65.5 x 33 in. (image, each)

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs. Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr., and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 14.76.64c–d



91. Suzuki Kason (1860–1919)
Eagle and Monkey, 1898
hanging scroll, ink and light color on silk, 57.3 x 27.4 in.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Francis Gardner Curtis, 41.507



92. Okada Baison (1864–1913)

Hawk Holding a Small Bird, c. 1891–92

album leaf, ink and color on silk, 14.6 x 11 in.

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Charles Stewart Smith Collection, Gift of Mrs. Charles Stewart Smith, Charles Stewart Smith Jr., and Howard Caswell Smith, in memory of Charles Stewart Smith, 14.76.61.71

Contributors

Rory Browne is associate director and dean of the Academic Advising Center at Boston College. An Oxford-educated French historian, he has taught European history at Oxford, Yale, Harvard, and Boston College. A member of the board of directors of Zoo New England, he researches, lectures, and broadcasts extensively on the history of zoos and human-animal relations. Browne contributed to the 2013 McMullen catalogue *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods*.

Joe Earle was director of Japan Society Gallery in New York until 2012 and has held leadership positions in Asian art departments at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Over nearly four decades he has curated, organized, or written catalogues for numerous exhibitions of Japanese art, craft, and design, including: *Japan Style* (1980), *The Toshiba Gallery: Japanese Art and Design* (1986), *Splendors of Meiji: Treasures of Imperial Japan* (1999 and 2002), *Contemporary Clay: Japanese Ceramics for the New Century* (2005 and 2006), *Serizawa: Master of Japanese Textile Design* (2009), *Bye Bye Kitty!!!: Between Heaven and Hell in Contemporary Japanese Art* (2011), and *New Forms, New Voices: Japanese Ceramics from the Gitter-Yelen Collection* (2017). He is now based in London, and last year completed a catalogue of 323 works of Japanese bamboo art in the Naej Collection.

Regina Gaudette, conservator at Rika Smith McNally & Associates (RSM), has a BA in English from the University of South Carolina. She was apprentice-trained in musical instrument replication with William Dowd Harpsichords, and in architectural wood finish restoration with Irving & Casson—A. H. Davenport Company. She has worked for thirty years in architectural conservation, and uses her structural knowledge and lacquer experience with the RSM team. Gaudette worked on all aspects of the conservation treatment of the Boston College eagle (plates 85a–b), and led the removal of previous paint and gilding.

Yuiko Hotta is a research associate of Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston where she assisted with the exhibitions *Takashi Murakami: Lineage of Eccentrics; A Collaboration with Nobuo Tsuji and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (2017–18) and *Presenting the New Japan: Arts of the Meiji Era, 1868–1912* (2017). Hotta received her MA in arts administration from the Savannah College of Art and Design in 2015, and was previously a curatorial intern at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Hae Yeun Kim is a graduate student at Columbia University. Her main research interests are in the cross-cultural interactions and developments between Japan and Korea in the East Asian context during the late medieval and early modern periods. She has previously worked for several museums: as a Korea Foundation graduate intern at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; a part-time research associate in Korean art at the University of Michigan Museum of Art; and as a curatorial intern at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum for the exhibition *On Kawara—Silence*.

Diana Larsen, assistant director at the McMullen Museum, has held curatorial positions at the Victoria and Albert Museum, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Rhode Island School of Design Museum, and Harvard's Fogg Museum. She has curated exhibitions of nineteenth-century decorative arts, English and American silver, and researched and coordinated the photography for *British and Irish Silver in the Fogg Art Museum* (2007). At the McMullen, Larsen co-curated and contributed to the catalogues for *Rural Ireland: The Inside Story* (2012) and *The Arts and Crafts Movement: Making It Irish* (2016). She has also taught exhibition planning and design at the University of Victoria, British Columbia.

Tomoko Nagakura is an assistant curator of Japanese art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where she has worked on numerous exhibitions, including: *Double Impact: The Art of Meiji Japan* (2015), *In the Wake: Japanese Photographers Respond to 3/11* (2015), and *Black and White: Japanese Modern Art* (2017). Her research interests range from paintings in eighteenth-century Kyoto, to contemporary art, as well as the reception and influence of various types of Japanese art in America. Previously Nagakura was a curator at the Shiseido Gallery in Tokyo and at the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art in Kanazawa, Japan.

Robert Shure is a sculptor and principal of Skylight Studios in Woburn, Massachusetts. He is a graduate of the New York Institute of Technology and has a master's degree in sculpture from Tufts University and the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Shure is a professional member of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works and has over forty years of experience with commissioned sculpture and object conservation. He supervised the Boston College eagle's mounting to its base (plates 85a–b).

Rika Smith, conservator, is the principal of Rika Smith McNally & Associates/SculptureCare in Natick, Massachusetts. She is a graduate of the Rhode Island School of Design and has a master's degree in conservation from the Winterthur/University of Delaware Art Conservation Program. Smith also has a certificate in conservation from the Harvard University Art Museums and is a fellow of the American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works. Her career specialty has been bronze sculpture. She was the conservation project manager and led the repatination of the Boston College eagle (plates 85a–b).

George Stratakis has been an artisan at Skylight Studios for more than thirty years. Previously, he was a principal at A&Z Woodworking, makers of fine furniture. He specializes in woodwork, metalwork, armature fabrication, and rigging. Stratakis determined the best methods for joining the Boston College eagle (plates 85a–b) to its base and securing the wings mechanically to the main body.

Contributors

Victoria Weston is associate professor of art, College of Liberal Arts, University of Massachusetts Boston. Her areas of expertise include: Japanese, Chinese, and Asian art history; nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Japanese “traditional” schools of painting in domestic and international contexts; and later nineteenth-century Japanese garden plants and design. Weston's publications include: *East Meets West: Isabella Stewart Gardner and Okakura Kakuzō* (1992), *Copying the Master and Stealing His Secrets: Talent and Training in Japanese Painting*, co-edited with Brenda Jordan (2003), and *Japanese Painting and National Identity: Okakura Tenshin and His Circle* (2004). She curated and edited the catalogue for the McMullen Museum's 2013 exhibition *Portugal, Jesuits, and Japan: Spiritual Beliefs and Earthly Goods*.

Karen Wolff, conservator at Rika Smith McNally & Associates (RSM), has a BFA in painting from Massachusetts College of Art with a focus in Asian art history. She has over thirty years of experience in conservation treatments, specializing in Japanese Satsuma and Imari, Korean celadon, and Ming and Tang dynasty ceramics. With RSM, Wolff has carried out treatments of numerous bronze sculptures throughout New England and was involved in all aspects of the Boston College eagle's conservation treatment, in particular with inpainting to visually integrate the patina (plates 85a–b).





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